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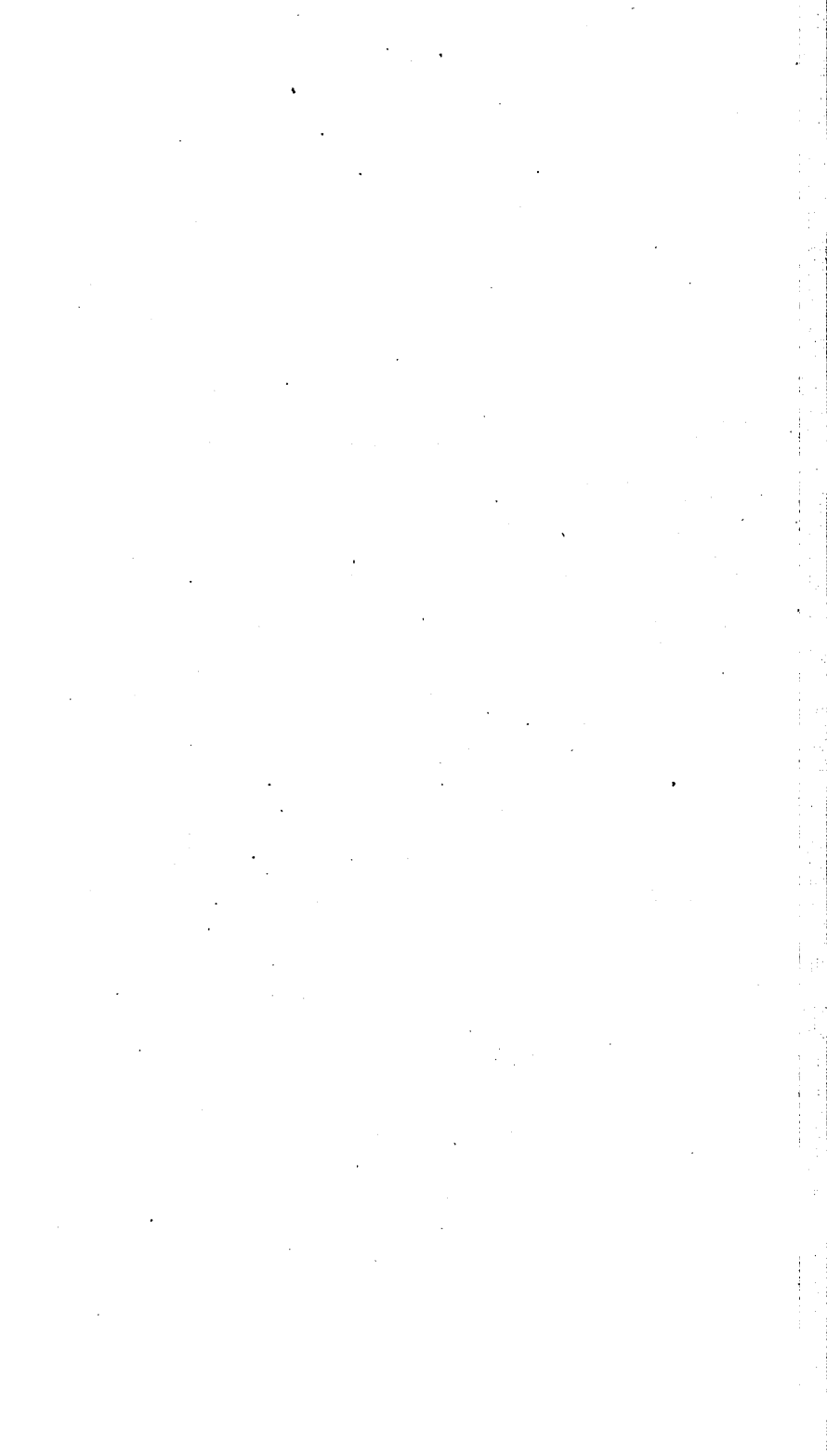
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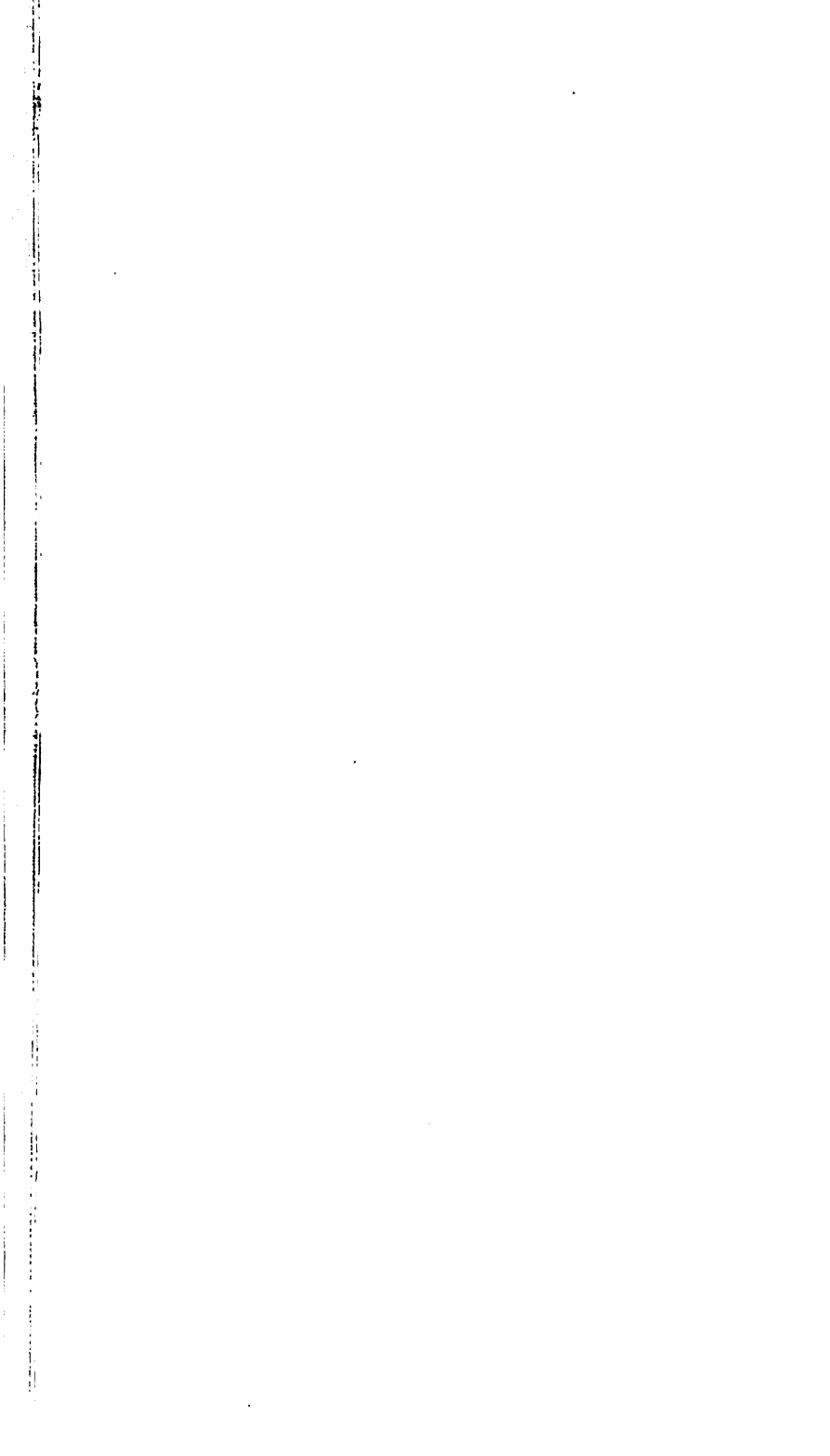


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THE
Cronicles of Scotland,

BY
ROBERT LINDSAY OF PITSCOTTIE.

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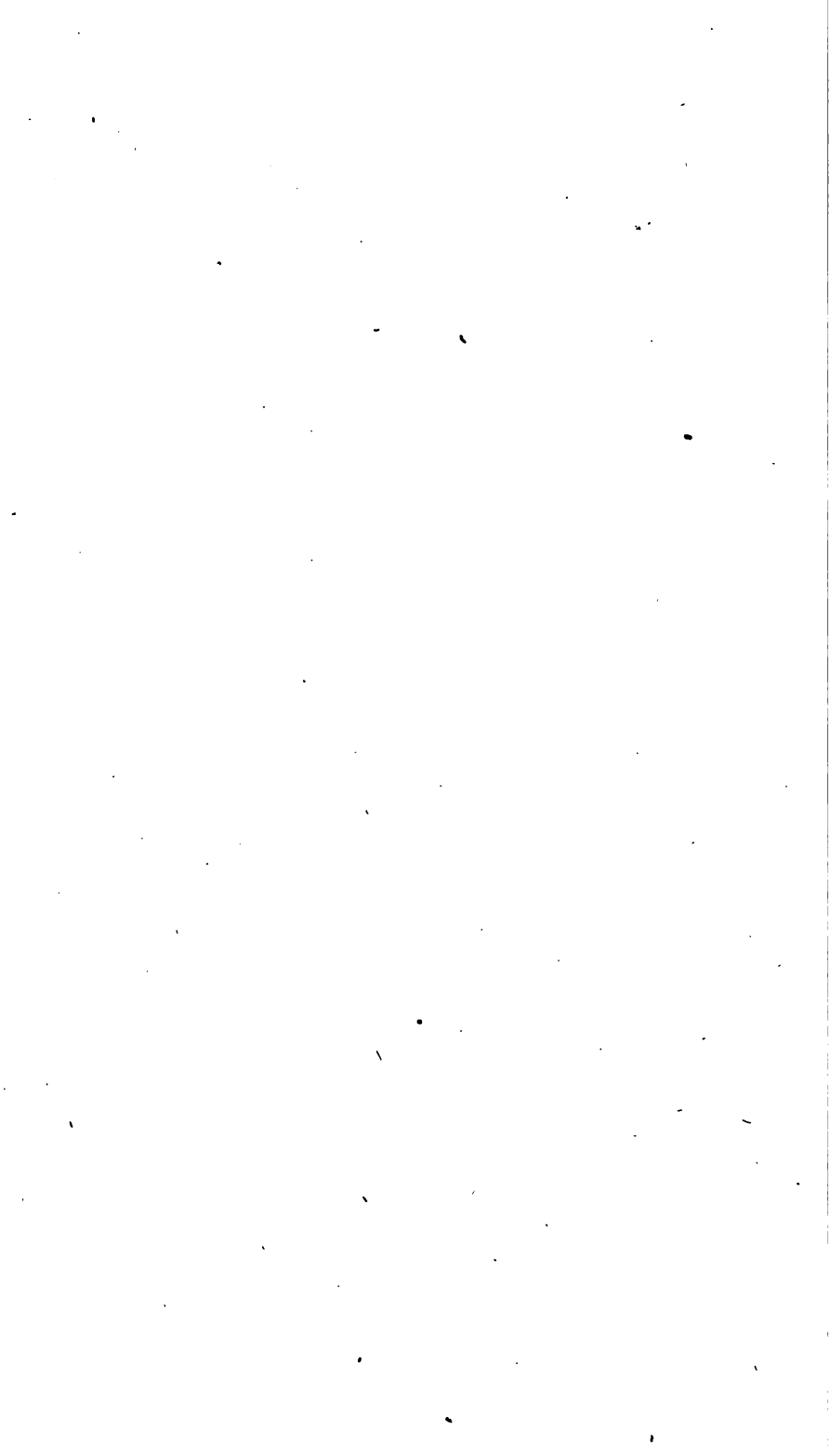
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**HEAR BEGINES THE CRONICLES AND HISTORIE
OF KING JAMES THE FYFT, AND QUHAT HAP-
PENED IN HIS MINORITIE AND THE REST OF
HIS TYME.**



HEAR BEGINES THE CRONICLES AND HISTORIE
OF KING JAMES THE FYFT, AND QUHAT HAP-
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HIS TYME.

JAMES the Fyft being of the aige of tuo yeires, who then be the adwyse of the lordis was crowned at Stirling, and thaireafter was in government and keiping with his mother Margaret, queine of Scotland, who caused chose ane guard to be about hir sone, for saifguard of his bodie; to witt, my lord Evandail, and his brother. In this mean tyme, king Harie the Aucht cam out of France quhan he had obtaint his pensioun, and hearing of the king of Scotland his guid brotheris death, he was verrie heavilie commoved thairat; and gave command to his nobles and barones, that non of them sould invaid nor trouble Scotland the tyme of the kingis minoritie, vnder the paine of treasone, and this he commandit straitlie, and sett forth lettres thairvpoun, for love of

his sister and his sister sone; thinkand that nothing sould faill on his syd of the band that was maid betuixt the king of Scotland and him, notwithstanding the borderis of Scotland was ever doing quhat they might to break the same.

Bot sone thairefter thair cam great troubles in Scotland amongst thamselffis, pairtlie for the authoritie who sould be hiest, and have the realme in government, and pairtlie for old feid and slauchter committit in king James the Feirdistyme. They thought it was tyme than to quyt commones in the prince's minoritie: for James earle of Arrane, lord Hamiltoun, pretendit hiest in this realme to have the government thair of: thinkand that he was nearest of blood to the kingis grace in the realme of Scotland at that tyme. But yitt the rest of the lordis onnowayes could be content that he sould have any preheminance so long as the queine keiped her widow head, and hir bodie cleane from licherie.

Bot schort quhill efter the earle of Angus frequented the court, and appeired most lustie in the queine's sight, for shoe loved him verrie weill, and so tuik him to be hir husband, by the adwyse and counsall of the lordis, for they knew nothing thair of a long tyme thairefter.

Than the earle of Arrane, having knowledge of the queine's proceidingis, assembled his kinsfolkis and friendis togidder, and past to Edinburgh; and desired the lordis to ane conventioun, saying to thame that the queine had tint hir government of the prince and authoritie of the countrie, because shoe had takin ane husband by the consent of hir lordis: thairfoir desired thame that he might have the auctoritie perteaning to him as nearest of blood. The lordis hearing this, would conclude nothing at this tyme quhill they war fardder adwysed.

In this mean tyme the earle of Angus gatt word of this conventioun, and quhat was thair intention thairintill, he cam peirtlie to the toun of Edinburgh, with all his kine and freindis, quhilkis wer to the number of fyve hundredreth speares, weill accompanied and arrayed with jack and spear, and lodged in Edinburgh for that night. Bot als soone as the earle of Arrane and bischop James Beatoun, and the rest of thair complices, gat witt that the earle of Angus was cum to the toun, gart steik the portis of the toun, thinking that he might easilie have takin the earle of Angus, and not knowing that a great companie of his kine and freindis was with him. But they being

adverteised thair of, watched starklie that night quhill on the morne, and cam and schew the earle of Angus quhat provisioun was making for him, that, if he passed not manfullie to the gaitt and defendit himselff, he wold be takin out of his lodging be his enemies, and led captive quhair they pleased. So this young lord haisted him to his armour, and caused his freindis and servandis to doe the same, and went richt peartlie to the gaitt, and stood aboue the Nether Bow, in arrayed battell. But Maister Gawin Douglas passed to sie if he could find any guid wayes betuixt the tuo pairties, and in speciall, he passed to bishop James Be-ton, quhair he was in the Blak Freir Kirk for the tyme, and the said Mr Gawin desired him to tak sum paines to labour betuixt thir tuo pairties, quhilk was at ane scharp poynt, and meaning little lese than that the bischope had most pairt the wyte thair of. Bot the bischop answeired him againe with ane oath, chopping on his breast, saying, "Be my conscience, my lord, I knaw not the matter." But when Mr Gawin hard the bischopis purgatioun, and chopping on his breast, and perceived the plettis of his jack clattring, he thought the bischop deceived him: so Mr Gawin said to him, "My lord, your conscience

is not guid, for I hear it clattring." Off this the bischop was ashamed, and excused the matter so far as he could ; bot Mr Gawin sieing him stand in this state, he past from him to Sir Patrik Hamiltoun, brother to the earle of Arrane, and desired him that he wold speak the earle of Arrane, his brother, and that he wold be content that my lord Angus sould pas to the castle and speak with the queine's grace, and thairefter depairt out of the toun bot molestation of any man. At the quhilk request Sir Patrik past to his brother, my lord Arrane, and schew him my lord Angus desir, quhair of the earle of Arrane was weill contentit, that my lord Angus sould doe his busines at his pleasour, and pas aff the toun quhen he list, bot any trouble or molestatioun, and this be the earnest solistatioun of Sir Patrik Hamiltoun, his brother. Bot Sir James Hamiltoun his sone, that bloodie butcheour, evir thristand for bloode, was on nowayes content of this appoyntment, bot raged at the said Sir Patrik for his laboures, saying he had no will to fight in his freindis quarrell thocht it war nevir so just : At thir wordis the said Sir Patrik was so greived, that he answeired Sir James, saying, " Thow lies, bastard smaik, I dare fight quhair thow dare not be seine this day." With this they both rushed out of thair

ludgingis rudlie to the gaitt in ane furious rage. Bot when the earle of Angus saw thame cuming, and perceaved Sir Patrik Hamiltoun formest, and with him the maister of Montgomerie, and saw them in sick ane furie, he knew weill thair was nothing bot fighting, and cryed to his men to saife Sir Patrik Hamiltoun if they might ; bot he came so far befor the rest that he was slaine haistilie, and with him the maister of Montgomerie, with sundrie other gentlmen, to the number of tuelf score and tuelf persones. It was foughtin verie hardlie on both sydis anelang space, till my lord Arrane and his men being oppressed with numbers, for the queine's favoureris in the toun cam in at the broad syd and suddenlie incompast him, gave backis and wan away out throche the Northe Loche, and Sir James Hamiltoun narrowlie eschaped out throche the Northe Loche also ; so fighting throw them verrie manfullie, with great danger, he retired aff the toun himselff, and Bischop James Beatoun fled to the Black Freir Kirk, and thair was takin out behind the alter, and his rockit rivin aff him, and had beine slaine, had not beine Mr Gawin Dowglas requested for him, saying, it was shame to put hand in ane consecrat bischop. So he was saiff at that tyme. Thair-

after the earle of Angus past to the castle and spok with the queine at his pleasour: And sa the Dowglassis keiped both the gaitt and thair honouris, quhilk wes called in Edinburghe to this hour, *Cleyng Calsey*, quhilk was struken in the yeir of God 1515 yeires: off the quhilk advantage the earle of Angus grew verrie proud and insolent, thinking, who evir had richt to the auctoritie, he sould be vpmost. To that effect he cherished all theifis and tratouris, both in Annerdail and Liddisdail, so that his companie, quhair evir they past, maid gritt hirschip, thift, and slauchter; and in speciall in Mers and Lothiane, quhair the lord Home and his freindis had dominion. The lord thair of being ane wyse naturall man, consideredd the earle of Angus' proceidingis, and the great love and favour he had of the queine, and the advantage quhilk he had gottin of my lord Arrane; if he reached any fardder but a fall, that he would overrun all the wholl countrie.

The lord Home, I say, sieing this, he sett his intent to put remeid thairto, and conveyed ane counsall be his moyane, of the most pairt of the nobilltie, at Edinburgh, schowand to thame that the realme was evill guidit and overharled be my lord Angus and his men on

the ane pairt, and be my lord Arrane on the other pairt, stryveand daylie for the auctoritie, albeit non of thame had richt thairto: thairfoir desired thair wisdomes that they would send to France for the duik of Albanie, who was righteous governour off the realme, and desir him to cum and ressaive the auctoritie and guidschip of the countrie, and to put ourdour induring the tyme of the kingis minoritye. The lordis hearing this, the chancellour answeired my lord Home saying, " My lord, the duik of Albanie is ane French man borne, Though he be nearest of blood to have the governance of this realme, yitt he hes not the language, nor knawis not the nature of our countrie, nor the lawis thairof, so weill as our awin lordis that ar borne at home in Scotland. Thairfoir I think best, in my opinion, to chuse ane of our awin lordis, who vnderstandis us and we him, and knawis the qualities of Scotland." Fardder, the chancellour nominat tua, to witt, the earle of Arrane and the earle of Lennox. Bot the lord Home answeired the chancellour verrie scharplie againe, and said, " My lord. trow yea, or ony lord that is hear, at this tyme to defraud the duik of Albanie of his just title and richt of the government, be your alledgance, or ony other motive that yea can propone at this tyme. I assure yow he sall

and will cum in Scotland in disphyght of all thame that wold the contrair; and if he comes not schortlie of his awin will, I sall pas for him my selfe." The chancellour and the rest of the lordis, sieing my lord Home's fervence in the duik of Albanie's caus, the speired at the lord Home if he wold subscrivye first the duik of Albanie's electioun to the government of the realme, and they wold follow syne and subscrivye with him. The lord Home answered and said, he wold with ane guid will: and immediatlie he subscrivied the said electioun. Then all the rest of the lordis and barones subscrivied, and directit thair commissioun with Sir Andro Wood of Largo, to France, to the duik of Albanie, desiring the said duik to cum in Scotland and receave the government thair of, according to his just title, and thair electioun and thair hand writtis givin thairvpoun.

Sir Andro Wood dressed his schipis, and maid him readie to doe his message.

In this meane tyme, Andro Forman, bischope of Murray and legat of Scotland, had monie of the benefices in his handis, be reasone he was legatt and principall of the bishoprick of St Androis, who had provydit the breives thair of to himselff, but he on no wayes could gett thaim proclamed, nor durst not intend the

same for feare of the Hepburnes, becaus prior Johnne Hepburne was at that tyme prior generall of St Androis, and vptuik the proffeittis thair of; for he nor none of his freindis had no will that bischope Formanes breives should be proclamed, bot stopped thame with all thair power, that nather in St Androis nor Edinburgh no man durst intimat nor proclame thame for feare of the said prior Johnne Hepburne. This bischope Forman sieing this, maid his mone to my lord Home, schowand to him that he was ane Mers man borne, and all his kine and freindis, quhairfoir desired him that he wold caus proclame his breifes, and fortifie him againes the Hepburnes. To that effect he gave him the pryorie of Coldinghame, quhilk was vaikand, to give his brother, be reasoun that he was legatt for the tyme. The lord Home sieing bischop Formanes liberalitie towardis him, caused his brother, Mr Williame, pas to Edinburgh, with the number of ten thousand men, and thair proclame the said bischope's breives, contrair the Hepburnes; and also, passed to St Androis and did the lyk, and gave the said bischope possession of the said bischoprick. But pryor Johnne Hepburne hearing this, conveyned his freindis and assistance that he had of the gentlemen of Fyfe, and manned the abbey kirk of

St Androis, that he on nawayes wold latt the said bischop enter thairin but at his pleasour: and lykwayes he keipit the castle againes him, so that the bischope could gett no entres nather in kirk nor castle. The bischop sieing this, thought weill that geir wold mak the matter evin betuixt thame, caused his freindis labour to that effect to satisfie the pryor and his greidie appetite, and gave him ane benefice of thrie thousand pundis, to give among his freindis, and satisfied him in this maner. Bot pryor Johnne conceaved sick hatred at the Homes for taking pairt with bischope Forman againes him, that his malice and envie was nevir quenched so long as the lord Home and his brother war alive.

In this meane tyme Sir Andro Wood passed to France, and shew the duik of Albanie his commissioun that he had from the lordis of Scotland, and speciallie from the lord Home, desiring him effectuouslie to cum in Scotland, as I have schowin befor, and thair to receave the government thairof, that justice may be ministrat according to the lawis of the realme. Off this message and commissioun the duik of Albanie was verrie glaid, and thanked Sir Andro Wod greatlie, and rewairdit him richlie for his labouris, and syne passed to the king

of France and asked his licence thairto, etc.: schowand to him quhat commissioun was brought to him from the lordis of Scotland, desiring him to pas in Scotland and be governor thairof; desiring the king of France for support of men and money to pas with him in Scotland, quhilk was granted to him verrie frielie, and als meikle money and men effeir- and thairto as he wold desir, and was verrie sorrowfull of his departur out of France, becaus he was sick ane man of warre that he left not his maik in all the land behind him. Notwithstanding, the duik of Albanie tuik the sea with fyve hundreth men of warre, and twentie four able gentlmen in his guard, togidder with munitioun, poudre and bullettis, sick as he might furnisch at that tyme. So he pulled vp sailles to pas in Scotland; bot the Inglismen knew of his cuming, and maid for him to have foughtin with him, bot he was so weill artailed, and his schip so weill maned, that they durst not meitt him, becaus they knew him to be ane noble man of warre, they leitt him pas without any impediment. So he cam haistilie in Scotland, and landed in Leith in the moneth of Majj, anno forsaide, who was honorablie and verrie hairtilie receaved in Scotland be the nobilitie and com-

mounes thairof, thankand God they had gottin on of the blood royall to rigne over thame, and to protect thame in the kingis minoritie.

So incontinent the lordis conveyned at Edinburgh, and sett ane parliament that the duik of Albanie might be receaved as protectour and governour. This parliament was sett in the moneth of Julij, anno forsaide, at Edinburgh, be consent of the queine and wholl nobilitie, spirituall and temporall: and in effect the duik of Albanie was admitted governour of Scotland, and thairto maid the othe of fidelitie to him, to be leill and trew and obedient to his auctoritie, and to the kingis majestie, in defence of the commounweill and ministratioun of justice induring the kingis minoritie; and lykwayes maid his oath to thame in presence of the wholl parliament, that he should be true to God and thair king, and to thame, and to minister justice equallie to great and small, without exceptioun of persones; to defend the commoun weill and libertie of the realme so far as lay in his power. This being done, the wholl nobles and commonnes rejoyced in the duik of Albanie's presence, becaus they had so long wanted ane head to governe thame, thinkand that thair wold be no debait nor stryff in the countrie vñpanished,

bot they wold knaw quhom to they wold plenye :
quhen any wrong was done in the countrie.

This pryor Johnne Hepburne of St Androis :
clame nixt the governour, and grew great in
court, and remembrit on old feid and invy be-
tuxit him and the Homes, and also bischope
Forman, and shew the duik, who was than go-
vernour, of the secreittis and demeritis of the
lord Home and his father and brother, and in-
speciall how the lord Home and his father had
vsed thaimselfis towardis the duikis father in
tyme of thair banischment, with all vther se-
creittis and inventiones that he could invent
contrair the lord Home and his brother, and
caused the governour to luik doun on thame ;
and also shew how bischope Forman had ga-
thered all the substance of Scotland be his le-
gacie, and caused the governour to sture at
him, quhilk caused the bischope to give over
manie benefices, and in speciall, the bischo-
prik of Murray and abbacie of Scone, quhilk
he gave to his brother Alexander, who joyseed
the same, ane lang tyme heirafter, the ab-
bacie of Melros, with many other benefices
he gave ynto the governour to win his fa-
vouris.

In this meane tyme the governour past
throw the countrie to danton all thift, reiff,

and slautchter, committit befoir in the kingis
minoritie; but when he cam to Jedwart, Kel-
so, and Melrose, and hard the complaintes of
the people and the inhabitantis thair of, and
especiall vpoun the earle of Angus, my lord
Hosme, and vther gentlemen who had oppres-
sed the countrie in the tyme when thair was no
justice ministrat for lak of ane heid to pleanyie
vnto, the governour, hearing thir heaueie com-
plaintes, was verrie sorrowfull in heart, settand
his intent to remeid the samyne. Howbeit the
great lordis could not be content thairwith;
yitt he passed forwardis to Dumfreis, and to
the toun of Air, and to the wastland, and thair
he hard of the cruell slauchter betuixt the
lord Montgomerie, and the lord Kilmau-
ris, and the lord Sempill, etc.: and finallie,
he passed to the north of Scotland, and hard
the plentes thair in lykmaner, and syne re-
turned to Edinburgh, and thair adwysed with
his counsall quhat was best to be done in this
matter, and how he might best punisch the
injuries done be the lordis, quhilk he thought
was overmeikle to tak in hand to punisch
thame opinlie: bot if he had beine more
power nor he was, considerring himself to
be bot ane stranger, and knew not the native
nor qualities of thame, and how Scottismen
cannot byd extreme judgment nor justice;

thairfoir he concludit with himself that he wold continew the prosecutione and persute of justice on thame, quhill he thought better tyme: and incontinent sent to the king of France showing the manner how Scottis men war all alyed with vtheris, and thair blood so mixt, that everie ane of thame tuik pairt with vtheris so againes him, that thei thought him bot ane stranger, and wold not be content that he vsed justice vpoun thame, nor he wold not attempt the same except he had more power: and thairfoir requested his grace that he wold support him with men for the weill and honour of the realme of Scotland: quho pleasantlie obeyed the governouris chairge and request, and send him thrie schipes furnished with men, money, and amunition, and landit in the wast seas.

The lordis, heiring word that the governour was myndfull to punisch thair faultis, and for that effect had support coming out of France, incontinent they laid thair headis togidder, and conveined ane counsall at Glasgow, quhair many of the lordis assemblit, to the number of twelff thousand men: to witt, the earle of Angus, the lord Hoome, the earle of Arrane, with all the wholl lordis of the Wastland; for thair was no wastlandman away except the earle of Lennox and the lord Erskine, who

was in Stirling with the prince. So the lordis hearing tell of the thrie schipes that cam out of France to the governour, thairfoir sent ane thousand men to the shipes to stop thair landing. Bot they war landit and away or they cam: bot yitt they gatt sum of the cairtes with the poudre and bullettis, and brought thame to Glasgow with thame, and for dispyte kest thame in ane new draw well.

When thir newis cam to the governour, that the lordis had vsed him so, and risin vp againes him, he awowed to God that he should be revengit vpoun thame, and of thair contemptioun done to him, or at the least on thame that war the occasioun of the same. So the governor past haistilie to Glasgow, intending to caus thame leive the toun or els to fight, or he himselff die thairfoir: and so he spurred haistilie to Glasgow toun to sie if he might dres the lordis to obey thair magistrat. But bischope Andro Forman went befoir thame to Glasgow, to intreat and sollicite the lordis to obey thair righteous governour and magistrat as became thame, and reasoned with thame in manner following, saying, " I marvell of your inconstancie my lordis, towardis your prince and governour: Why have yea risin so againes him, and hes destroyed his poudre and bullettis in plaine contemptioun,

showing your selfis so rebellious againes him, that he on nawayes can be content without obedience and amendment of your procedingis in tymes to cum." To this the lordis answeired, saying, " He is nocht our governour, nor we know not whidder he be ane Scotisman or ane Frenchmanes sone, or giue he hes richt to our auctoritie or not." To this answeired bischope Forman saying, " I marvell of your wisdomes that wold not consider the matter at the first tyme, when yea send for him to France be your hand writtis and commissioun, and syne chairefter receaved him in Scotland thankfullie, and gave your oathis of fidelitie to him, to mantaine him to execute justice according to the lawis of the realme, and now yea have rissin againes him bot ony caus or motioun maid on his pairt to yow. Thairfoir I counsall yow to leive sick thingis in tymes cuming, and to obey your governor as yea ought to doe in all honest affaires, according to justice, for the weillfair of the countrie, and to give your prince that obedience as to leive the toun at this tyme, that he may repose him a litle hear, as yea have done, and if yea wilbe wilfull, and not consent heirto, he will aither have it, or els fight with yow, although yea war ten thousand men moe nor he, for he

cares yew not in his just quarrell." The lordis hearing the wordis of bischope Forman, consulted togidder, and promiseit to leive the town at the governouris coming, vpoun conditiounes following: That is, that the governour should remitt all byganes, and to receive thame in tymes cuming as guid subjectis to the kingis grace and to him, and sewir to call thame for no thingis by past. The quhilk the bischope promiseit in the governouris name that it sould be so. Then they left the town, and past thairfra, that the governour might have frie entrie thairin, who ludged thair that night, and on the morne past to Stirling and visited the kingis grace: syne went to Edinburgh, and remained thair till all the lordis came and maid thair obedience, and gatt ane remissioun for all thingis bygane. Bot yit the governour remembrit on thame when he saw his tyme. The earle of Angus was stollin quyetlie out of his ludging and had to the shipes, and convoyed quyetlie to France, and remained thair a seasoun bot knowlege of any Scottisman, scantlie knawing quhat place of the world he was in.

In this meane tyme the governour callit ane conventioun at Edinburgh, to compeir for the effaires of England, and especiallie he wrott

for the lord Hoom and his brother, Mr Williame, becaus they best knew the affaires of Ingland. The wholl lordis appeired at Edinburgh, the day appoyntted, and amongst the rest the lord Home and his brother, who wold not enter in the Abbey with the rest, quhill on the morne, that his brother was called be the governour, who desired the lord Home to send ane token for him to that effect, that he might cum to the counsall, becaus he knew the affaires and proceidings of Ingland best of ony man, thairfoir the governour thought he would send him ambassadour to Ingland: Quhilk moved the lord Home to send ane ring aff his finger to his brother, quhilk was ane privie token betuixt thame; and incontinent he cam befor the counsall: and als soone as he entred the Abbay the gaittes war closed; and the Frenchmen start to their harneis, and laid handis on the lord Home and his brother; and pat thame in prisone; and they had the said maister Williame to the schipis, and pat him in the castle of Inchgarvie, and keipit the lord Home still in the Abbey, whyll they summondat ane assyze, and convicted thame of treasone, and thairefter strak the headis from thame. Thir novellis cam to France, to the earle of Angus, that the lord Home and his

brother was forfalt and behēdit, quhair of he was verrie sorrie, thinking himself no lese culpable then the lord Home, considering that he was participant of sick thingis, and of brymes of les majestie as they war; thairfor convoyed himself quyetlie out of France in Ingland, quhair he was weill receaved, for the queine of Scotlandis caus; becaus he was hir husband. Thairefter the queine of Scotland gatt word that hir husband the earle of Angus was com to Ingland, and passed all danger of France, quhair of shoe was greatlie rejoyced, for shoe was great with chyld to him, almost at the delyverance. Notwithstanding, for love shoe bare to hir husband and desir shoe had to speak with the king of Ingland hir brother, shoe left the king hir sone in the castle of Stirling, in keiping of the captane and his gaird, that war about him, and took hir voyage and past to London, quhair shoe was weill receaved, be king Harie, hir brother, and remained thair at hir pleasour, and gatt all thingis from the king that shoe wold ask or desir; and schortlie efter shoe was delyvered of ane dochter called ladie Margaret, who remained evir in Ingland, intending title to the crown be hir or hir successioun. This being done, queine Margaret, with hir husband the earle of Angus,

returned in Scotland, with great supplicationes from king Harie to the governour of Scotland, to receave the earle of Angus in his favouris, and to remitt all byganes; quhill request the governour took in guid pairt, and granted all thingis that the queine wold desire in the king of Inglandis name; and so he acceptit the earle of Angus in his favouris, and took his oath that he sould be trew to the kingis grace, and to himselff.

This being done, the realme stood in good tranquillitie and peace, and the nobles obeyed the prince as they ought in all civill matteris, quhairthrow the commounweill flourished ane long tyme; quhill at the last the king of France sent letteris in Scotland to the governour, desiring him to cum and speak with him in haist, for sick affaires as he had to doe with him for the tyme. So the governour put the realme to guid ordour and peace, and so departed to France, and left Monsieur Tillibatie in his place, quhill he returned from France, and gave him command to vse justice equallie to all men. So he passed with his schipis and passed his way, etc.

In this meane tyme Monsieur Tillibatie being left regent, as we have schowin, remained in the Abbey of Hallruidhous, and ane guard

of Frenchmen about him, to the number of four-scoir halberteris, to be readie at his command.

In this meane tyme, thair was ane gentlman in Edinburgh, namit Williame Meldrum, laird of Bines*, who had ane fair ladie with him, called the ladie Glengeis, who was ane dochter to Mr Richard Lawsons, proveist of Edinburgh, the quhilk ladie had borne tua baillies to the said laird, and intendit to marie hir if he might purchase the Pope's license, becaus they were sib. Notwithstanding, ane gentlman called Lues Stirling invyed the love and marriage betuixt thir tuo personages, thinkand to have the gentlwoman in mariage to himselff, becaus he knew the laird of Bines might not have hir richtlie be the Pope's lawis. Thairfoir he solisted his brother sone, the laird of Keir, with ane certane companie of armed men, to set vpoun the laird of Bines, to tak his ladie from him be way of deid; and to that effect followed him betuixt Leith and Edinburgh, and set on him beneath the Rid Chappell, with fyftie armed men, and he againe defendit himselff with fyve in number, and fought with him, and slew the laird of Keires principall servand, and hurt the laird of Keir to the perrill of deid, and tuentie sax of his

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* Probably in the county of Fife.

men hurt and slaine. Bot this William Meldrum of Bines was evill martyred, for his hochis war cutted, and the knoppis of his elbowis war strikin aff, and was strikin throw the bodie, so thair was no signe of lyff in him, Yitt be the mightie power of God, he eschaped the death, and leived fyftie yeires thair-after.

In this meane tyme Monseour Tillibatie gatt word, quhain he was in the Abbey of Hallirudhous, that sick ane nobleman was murdered at his hand, so he incontinent caused sound his trumpetis, and rang the comoun bell, commanding all men to follow him both on hors and foott, that he might revenge that villanous fact; and cam pertlie fordward to the place quhair the tuilzie was foughtin, and fand this Williame lyand for dead, and his men about him, and followed verrie ferclie efter thair enemies, and overhyed thame at Linlithgow, and forced thame to tak ane peill hous in Linlithgow, for saiftie of thair lyves, think-and thamselffis suir thairin. Bot this noble regent lap manlie about the hous, and seidgit it evir, till he constrained thame to render the same, and thairefter tuik thame and brought thame altogidder to Edinburgh, and gave thame ane fair assyse; and thairby condemned

thame for the said cryme, and was put in the castle of Edinburgh, to be in suire keiping, to be at the governouris will.

After this Monsieour Tillibatie went to the Mers and to the toun of Dunce, to hold ane justice court, and was convoyed be the lairdis of Sesfoord and Phernehirst, who said to him that they sould give him the convoy saiffie to Edinburgh againe. Bot the laird of Wedderburne and his companie invyed Monsieour Tillibatie, for the duik of Albanies caus, and sieing that he was left in sic ane place, he thought he sould be avengit on him, and wached Tillibatie, regent for the tyme, quhill he gatt him at ane outsyd, and sett on Tillibatie. Bot Tillibatie, fearing ane conspiracie, he spurred his hors, and fled towardis the castle of Dunbar, thinking to have wone away, becaus he was weill horsed. Bot being ane stranger, and not knawing the ground weill, he laired his hors in ane mos, and thair his enemies cam vpoun him, and slew and murdered him verrie vnhonestlie, and cutted aff his head, and carried with thame. And it was said that he had long hair plett in his neck, quhilk David Home of Wedderburne knitt to his saddle bow, and kept it.

Incontinent thairefter word cam to the duik of Albanie, that Monsieour Tillibattie, whom he had left governour of Scotland, was slaine : so he passed to the king of France and shew him the manner how it was, and how that no civill man nor guid governour might leive in Scotland, quhairat the king of France was heavilie displeased, and said to the duik of Albanie, " My lord yea did evill that wold not substitute ane Scottisman govirnour in your place, till your returning: for I wist weill they wold invy ane French man for your sake. Nevirtheles be yea of guid comfort, I sall support and manteine yow to revenge that quarrell." and sua assuadged the duik of Albanie's ire, and tuik counsall of his wyse captanes, quhat was best to be done, in revenging of his caus, quho gave him counsall to seik support at the king of France, and to pas haistilie in Scotland, and revenge the slauchter of Monsieour Tillibatie; dreadand the longer he stayed he sould have the more adoe, and manie enemies start vp againes him in Scotland. To this counsall the duik of Albanie consented, and past haistilie to the king of France, and askit support of him to pas in Scotland for sick causis as he had schowin to his grace. The king of France obeyit this requeist, and caused fur-

nisch him thrie great shipes, quhairin war thrie thousand men, weill furnisched with all sick thingis as concerned thame, for the space of ane yeir. So the duik of Albanie tuik his leive of the king of France, and landit saiffie in Scotland the saxt day thairefter. He maid gritt persecutioun on the Homes, and specialie on the laird of Wedderburnes freindis, who was principall slayer of Tillibatie. Bot on no wayes could he apprehend himself personalie, nor yitt wold he compeir befor his Justice, but fled in Ingland, and remained thair als long as the duik of Albanie remained in Scotland. Notwithstanding the duik of Albanie, governour forsaid, past through Scotland and vsed justice to all men, as effeired him; and raised ane armie in winter, and past to the wast border, and thair thought to have seidgit Carleil. Bot the lord Dacres and he appoynted vpoun all debaites and redrese of the borderis, so he continewed the seidge, and passed home. And on the nixt yeir thairefter past to Wark and seidgit it. Bot the bordereris deceaved him, and caused his captanes to deceave him, quhilkis war all hanged when he had brasched and wone the hous. For when the Inglismen that war in the castle saw no Scottismen followand, nor backand thair cap-

tanes that cam over the wallis, they incontinent hanged thame over the wallis.

Quhen the governour saw this that the bordereris had deceaved him, and wold not reskew thair captanes nor back thame, he raised his camp in ane great anger, and cam homwardis to the castle of Dunbar, and thair remained ane long space; and caused massones enter thair, and big ane great strenth, called the outward blokhous, and garnished the same with artallie, poulder, and bullettis.

In this meane tyme the maister of Hailles and the laird of Nisbet, through counsall of the Hepburnes, cruellie betrayed and slew ane innocent man, prior of Coldinghame, thinking to have done the governour ane pleasour, for the slauchter of Tillibattie.

In this mean tyme deceased bischope Andro Forman, bischope of St Androis, and legatt of Scotland; bot prior Johne Hepburne and his freindis caused tak the castle and keip the same, becaus he was vicar-general for the tyme: bot bischope James Beatoun haistilie obtained the same be way of court and authoritie, and aggried with prior Johne, and satisfied him for the same; for his viccarage and all other thingis perteaning to his office.

The kingis grace at this tyme was about ellevin yeires of aige, and the governour, the duik of Albanie, sieing the conditiones and qualities of the noblmen of Scotland to be so, that few or non might trust on another; he tuik stedfast resolutione to pas home to France and leive thair. Quhairfoir he furnished Dumbar, and maid ane Frenchman captane thair of, callit captane Morise; and thairefter establisched the realme in this manner. He left thrie regentis to governe the same, quhill the king was tuelf yeires of aige; for than he knew weill the lordis wold chose ane new regent amongst thamselffis; quhilkis regentis war the earle of Lennox, bischope James Beatoune, and ane Frenchman called Monsieur Lufence. So the duik of Albanie tuik his leive of court and counsall, and went into France, quhairfra he returned not againe. So all the wholl tyme that the duik of Albanie remained in Scotland was fyve yeires and ane halfe.

Thus when the duik of Albanie was depairted, thair arose great troubles and deadlie feadis in many pairtis of Scotland. The maister of Forbes, in the north, slew the laird of Meldrum, vnder trystring. Lykwayes the laird of Drumalziar slew the lord Fleming at the halking.

Thir cumberis drew ovir till the king was tuelf yeires of aige, and than the lordis consulted togidder, and thought they wold bring the king to the feildis, and put the gowernement in his awin handis: quhilk when the king hard of his preheminencie, he was weill content to leive correctioun at the scooles, and pas to his lordis at libertie, sua he was horsed and furnished in all thingis pertaining to ane prince, and syne brought him furth of the castle of Stirling, to the Abbey of Holirudhous; and thair he tuik vp hous with all office men requisite for his estate, and changed all the old officeris, both thesaurer, comptroller, secreitar, Mr maissar, Mr household, Mr stableris, copperis, carveris, and all the rest. And four lordis war chosin to be tutouris and governouris to the king, and all casualties sould be disponed be thame, and remained still in companie with the king, and to give him counsall in all thingis perteaning to his honour, and the commounweill of the countrie. Quhilkis lordis war the earle of Lennox, my lord Hamiltoun, my lord Angus, and bischope James Beatoun.

The king and the lordis remained in Edinburgh and Hallirudhouse the space of ane yeir, with great triumph and mirrines, quhill

at the last thair vaiked ane benefice quhilk pat thame all at variance for the dispositioun of the same ; for everie lord thought he wold be served according to his rowme and estate. But the earle of Angus warred the other thrie, for when he had gottin Dunkell, he wold have had Coldinghame, and could not be served so ; bot when Hallirudhouse vaikit he wold have had it also : and shew to the lordis that he was scant of hay and hors corne when he cam to the toun ; thairfoir he behoved to have that benefice with leive to find his horss meatt. The rest of the lordis considderred the earle of Angus greidines, that he wold have all thingis at his dispositioun, without any considderatioun quhat expenss they war in the kingis service. The lord Hamiltoun gatt Pasley to his sone, but the earle of Lennox gatt nothing, quhairfoir he tyrred of the court and went home to his awin countrie, and so did my lord Hamiltoun within short space thairefter. Bot bischope James Beatoun, who was the feird lord, remained still in Edinburgh, in his awin ludging, quhilk he biggit in the Frieris Wynd, for he might not pas out of the toun becaus he was chancellour for the tyme, and satt in the seatt of Justice, and cam no more to the court bot as he was sent for. Thus the earle

of Angus guydit the king and court at his pleasour, and maid his eyme, Archibald Douglas, thesaurer, and George, his brother, Mr Houshold to the king, and himselff great leiftenent of Scotland. Bot nevirtheles, the queine pairted with him, and ane litle quhill efter married Harrie Stewart, brother to my lord Evandaill, and maid him Lord Mefven. Yitt not the les the earle of Angus tuik litle regaird thair of, bot abod at court, and guydit all as he pleased, and caused the king ryd throw the countrie and hold justice courtis, and punisch theives and briggantis, and caused stryk conzie of his awin: to witt, ane grott of the valour of aughteine pence, quhilk efterward was callit the Douglas groatt, and non that tyme durst stryve againes a Douglas nor Douglas' man. So he rang a verrie long tyme verrie ambitiouslie, without any controlment.

In this meane tyme thair was ane cuning clark, callit Mr Patrik Hamiltoun, abott of Ferne, quho was summondit befor the counsall haldin at St Androis for the tyme, be James bischope Beatoun, and the rest of the clergie of Scotland, and thair was accused of herisie be the bischopis, abbottis, clarkis, gray freiris and black. His accuser was ane black freir callit Campbell, quho red his articles,

and syne said to him, " Heretick, thow sayes that it is lesum to any man to reid the word of God, and in speciall the New Testament."

Mr Patrik answeired, " I said not so to my witting : bot I said, and sayis it, it is lesum to all men that hes ane saull, to reid the word of God that they may vnderstand the same, and speciallie the letter will and testament of Jesus Chryst, quhairby they may acknowledge thame of thair sines, and repent thame of the same, quhairby they may amend thair lyves be faith and repentance, and attaine to salvatioun by Chryst Jesus." " Now heretick, I sie thou affirmes the wordis of thy accusatioun." Mr Patrik answeired, " I affirme nothing bot the wordis which I have spokin in presence of this auditour."

" Now fardder, thow said it was not lesum to worschipe imagerie." Mr Patrik answeired, " I say no fardder bot as God speakis to Moses in the twentie chapter of Exodus, in the second commandement, Thow shall not mak to thy selff any gravin image, &c. Thow sall not bow doun to thame nor worship thame, &c. And also David in his Psalmes, Curss thame that ar makeris of images." Than answeired his accuser, " Knawis thow not, the buik of imagerie is the buik of

laud and prais, to put the commoun people in remembrance of his holy sanctis that wrought for thair salvatioun." Then answered Mr Patrik, " It ought to be the true preaching of the word of God that sould put the commoun people in remembrance of Chryst." Than sayes the accuser, " Heritick, thow sayes it is bot lost labour to pray to sanctis, and especiallie to the blessed Virgine Marie, Johne, James, Petir, and Paull, to be the mediatoures vnto Chryst for ws." Mr Patrik answered; " I say with Paull, that thair is no mediatour betuene God and ws bot Chryst Jesus his sone, and whosoever he be that incallis any sanct, he derogattes so meikle of the honour he ought to Chryst Jesus." " Heretick, thow sayes, that it is in vaine to sing saull mess and derigies for thame that ar dead, quhilk is continewed in the paines of purgatorie." Mr Patrik answered; " Brother, I reid never in the Scriptures of sick ane place as purgatorie, nor yitt beleive I that thair is any thing can save the soull of man save onlie the blood of Chryst, quhilk ransome standis not in earthlie thingis, nather mess, mattines, nor deregies, bot by repentance of our sines, and faith in Jesus Chryst." The accuser sayes, " My lordis, yea hear he denyes the institutioun of

the hallie kirk, and the auctoritie of our holy father, the Pope, so that we neid not to accuse him any fardder."

Then the bischopis and kirkmen concludit and gave sentence on this innocent man, and condemned him to die; and brought him furth of the abbey kirk of Sanct Androis, fornent the old colledge callit Sanct Salvitouris colledge, and thair was ane gritt fire, and ane staik and ane scaffold sett, quhairon they put this innocent man, in presence of the wholl people, and syne requyred of him if he wold recant the wordis that he had said, and him selff to burne his faggott, and his lyff should be saiff. Mr Patrik answeired; "As for my confessioun, I will not deny it for fear of your fire, for my confessioun and beleive is in Jesus Chryst: and thairfoir I will not deny it. I will rather that my bodie be brunt in this fire for confessioun of my faith in Chryst, nor that my soull should burne in the unquenchable fire of hell for denying of my faith. Bot as for the sentence and judgment pronounced againes me this day be the bischopis and doctouris, I, hear in presence of all, appeallis contrair the saidis sentences and judgmentis givin againes me, and takis me to the mercie of God: and summondis yow, Sir Frier, befor the tribunall seatt of God, within

fourtie dayes, to answeir befor that Supreme Judge for your vrongous accusatioun contrair your conscience." Be this Mr Patrik left his speaking, and entred in prayer to God Almighty to be mercifull to the people who executed him, for thair was monie of thame ignorant, and wist not what they did; and besought Jesus Chryst to be his mediatour, and to strenthen his spirit, that his bodie might the better abyde the horrible flames of the fire prepared for him, and that the paines of that torment maid him not to swerue from any pairt of his faith: and so in the name of God he maid his oblatioun, that is, his bodie to the fire, and his soull in the handis of the great God of Heaven, and than maid ane end of his speaking: And than they laid the fire to him; bot it wold not burne nor kindle ane long tyme. Than ane baxter, called Myrtoun, ran and gatt his armes full of strae and kest in the fire to kindle it: but thair cam sick ane thud of easterne wind out of the sea, and raised the flame of fire so vehementlie, that it flew vpoun the frier who accused him, and dang him to the earth, and brunt the foir pairt of his coull; and pat him in sick a fray that he cam nevir in his ryght spiritis againe, bot wandrit about the space of fourtie dayes, and than departed.

This cruell act of persecutioun was vsed againes this godlie man at St Androis, the yeir of God 1525 yeires, in the moneth of September.

About this tyme the king past south to Edinburgh, and held justice aires, quhair manie plaintes cam to him of reiff, slauchter, and oppressioun, bot litle justice was vsed bot the purs, for thair was manie in that countrie war the earle of Angus' kin and freindis, that gott favorable justice, quhair of the king was not content, nor non of the rest of the lordis that war about him, for they wold have had justice equallie vsed to all men; bot the earle of Angus and the rest of the Douglass' rulled yitt still as they pleased, and no man durst find fault with thair proceidingis; quhairat the king was heavilie displeased, and would faine have beine out of thair handis, and for that effect he writt ane secreitt letter to the laird of Buccleugh, desiring him effectuouslie that he wold cum with all his forces, kin and freindis, and all that he might be, and meitt him at Melrose, at his home coming, and thair to tak him out of the Douglas' handis, and put him at libertie, to vse himself among the rest of the lordis as he thought expedient. This writting was send with on of the kingis owin servantis, and was receaved verrie glaidlie be the laird of Buccleugh, and was right

rejoyset to be put to sick chairges be his prince, and did great diligence to performe the kingis wrytting; and to that effect conueined his wholl kine and freindis, and all that wold tak pairt with him, to meitt the king at Melros at his home coming, quhilkis war to the number of six hundreth speares, and held thamselffis verrie quyet till the king returned from Jedvart to Melrose. But when the lord Home, Sesfoord, and Pheruiherst, tuik thair leives from the king, and returned home, then appeared the laird of Buccleugh and his companie in sight, in forme of arrayed battell, intending to have fulfilled the kingis petition, and thairfoir cam stoutlie fordward to the back of Hallidonhill; bot the earle of Angus, and George, his brother, and sundrie vther of thair kin and thair freindis, sieing this armie coming fordwardis, they marvelled quhat it sould meine; bot at the last, when thei knew the laird of Buccleugh, with certane of Annerdaill theives with him, they war the lese afrayed, and maid thame manfullie to the feildis for thame, and said to the king, " Sir, yonder is the laird of Buccleugh, and the theives of Annerdaill with him, to vnbesett your grace in the way, bot I awow to God, Sir, they sall aither fight or flie. Thairfoir, Sir, yea sall

tarrie hear, and my brother George with yow, and any vther quhom yea pleas, and I sall pas and put yon theives aff the ground, and red the gaitt to your grace, or elis die thairfoir." The king tarried still, and devysed George Douglas and sundrie vther lordis with him, sick as the earle of Lennox, the lord Erskine, and some of his awin speciall servandis, and all the rest passed with the earle of Angus to the feild againes the laird of Buccleugh: quhilk pairties joyned suddenlie, and fought cruellie ane long space with vncertane victorie; bot at the last, the lord Home hearing word of the matter, he returned againe to the king with all possible haist, and with him the laird of Sesfoord and Pherinherst, to the number of fourscoir speares, and sett on freschlie on the vtmost wing, on the laird of Buccleughis feild, and shortlie bure thame to the ground, quhilk caused the laird of Buccleugh to flie: on quhom thair followed ane chaise be the lairdis of Sesfoord and Pherninherst, in the quhilk chaise the laird of Sesfoord was slaine with ane cassin spear, be ane called Evan, servand of the laird of Buccleughis. When the laird of Sesfoord was slaine the chaise ceased, and the earle of Angus returned with gritt mirrines, and thanked

God that he had eschaped as he did, and past forward with the king. They remained all that night quhill on the morne: then they past to Edinburgh with the king, who was verrie dollorous for the slaughter of the laird of Sesfoord, and manie other gentlmen slaine be the laird of Buccleugh, to the number of four-scoir and fourteine, who died in defence of the king, and command of his wrytting; howbeit it was not knawin to everie man, quhilk caused the king to be verrie sad and dollorous, thinkand be no wayes to be quyt of the earle of Angus and his freindis. Thairfoir he sett his intent to find remedie; and for this effect he sent for bischope James Beatoun, to crave his counsall thairintill. This bischop being ane wyse man, gave him counsall to send for the earle of Lennox, to sie quhat was his mynd thairintill, becaus he was nearest of kin to the king, and of his name, thairfoir he thought him meittest of ony man to delyver him out of the earle of Angus handis. The king heiring of this, send for the earle of Lennox, and gave him power to raise his leidges for that effect, and that he sould cum to Edinburgh with all power that he might be, and tak the king out of the earle of Angus' handis perforce.

The earle of Lennox having receaved this commissioun, he was verrie glaid to obey the samyne, and gathered all that he might be in Fyffe, Angus, Stirling and Strathern, to the number of ten thousand ; and bischope James Beatoun mett him with the most pairt of the gentlmen of Fyffe; and the maister of Kilmaures mett him with tuo thousand horsmen, and tuik his vangaird in hand and cam fordwardis.

The earle of Angus hearing that the earle of Lennox and bischop James Beatoun, and the maister of Kilmaures was vpoun the feildis so great ane number againes him, considderat weill, that it was not done bot the kingis consent, quhilk maid him to be verrie astonished. Notwithstanding, he resolved with himselff aither to doe or die, and send to all his freindis, and in speciall to my lord Home, Phernihirst, and also to my lord Hamiltoun, schawing him that the earle of Lennox his enemye was gathered againes him, to tak the king out of his handis, beseikand him to support him in that caus, quhilk was for his awin weill, saying, if the earle of Lennox overcame him, that the next day he would do richt soe with him. Thairfoir, he said, it was best to debaitt with both thair poweris.

Off this desir my lord Hamiltoun was verrie glaid, and promised to meitt my lord Angus with his wholl kine and freindis att Linlithgow. On the morne thairefter, the earle of Lennox came out of Stirling, with thrie great hostis, marching towardis Edinburgh, to sett fordwardis his purpose and intent, quhilk he had takin in hand at the kingis command. Incontinent the earle of Angus was adverteised of thair cuming, and schew the king the manner, and caused mak proclamationes, both in Leith and in Edinburgh, that all men betuixt sixtie and sixteine should ryse and follow the king, and debaitt his grace. The king hearing thir wordis of the earle of Angus, and knew the matter how it stood, gave bot little answeir to him againe ; so that when he perceived the king slow in the matter, he knew thair was no other remedie, but he took the feildis manfullie, and caused his freind Archibald Douglas, proveist of Edinburgh, to gar ring the commoun bell, and put the toun in ordour, and commandit thame to ryse and pas with the king to support him, for he wold pas incontinent fordward to meitt my lord Home, who was above Lithgow with an armie of tuo thousand men ; and the earle of Angus past fordward with the Hoomes and Kerris, who

wer also tuo thousand men. Be this word cam to the toun of Edinburgh, that the earle of Lennox was within ane myll to the toun of Lithgow with thrie great hoastis, to the number of tuelf thousand men, weill furnisch- ed with all necessaris and was purposed to cum to Edinburgh, if he was not stopped. Then George Douglas hearing this, desired the king effectuouslie to ryse and pas fordward to help his brother, and support him againes his enemies, showing the king how near they war. Bot the king took little thought of that, and was verrie slow in his furth ryding; bot at the last, the post cam from the earle of Angus, showing the king that both the armies war in vtheris sight, and was purposed to fight; thairfoir prayed the kingis grace to cum fordward with the toun of Edinburgh, to reskew the earle of Angus, or els he wold be lost, be reasoun of the number of the other pairtie. Then the king caused sound his trumpettis, and lap vpoun hors, and caused ring the commoun bell of Edinburgh, commanding all maner of men to follow him; so he isched forth at the West Port, and the tonnes of Edinburgh and Leith with him, to the number of thrie thousand men, and passed fordwards with thame. Bot, or they cam to the craigs of Corstorphine,

they heard the artaillie schott on both sydis. Then George Douglas besought the king, for Godis saik, to ryd faster, that he might reskew and help his brother. Be this ane post cam and schew the king that both the armies war joyned, and fightand furiously, with other on the wast syd of Linlithgow, tuo mylles from the toun, and that the earle of Angus and the earle of Glencairne was yocked togidder, and the lord Hamiltounes hoste was yocked in lyk manner. Then the king raid fast to sie the manner, bot ane other post met the king incontinent, showing him that the earle of Lennox men war fled from him, and beleived that he had tint the field; at the quhilk tydings the king was verrie heavilie displeased, and cryed vpoun his freindis and servandis, and sick as wold doe for him, to ryd fast to the feild, and stanch slaughter, and in speciall to saiff the earle of Lennox, if he wold be found alive. So sundrie of the kingis servandis and familiars, rod to the feild, and with thame Sir Andro Wood of Largo, who was one of the kingis carveris for the tyme, and on of his grace' most speciall servandis. Bot when they cam to the feild, they fand the earle of Lennox in the dead thraw, cruellie slaine be Sir James Hamiltoun, that tarrant, efter that he was ta-

kin in the feild be the laird of Porduen, and his veapones takin from him, Immediatlíe efter this Sir James Hamiltoun gart schott him from his takeris, and thair slew him bot mercie; and he vsed all so that he might overtak that day in the feild, quhair was manie marked with his mark that day, quhilk was ane overthort the chaftis. We will speak no more of his tirannie, bot returne to Sir Andro Wood, and the rest of the kingis servantis, who raid swiftlie throw the feildis to saiff all that they might apprehend alyve; quhill at the last they fand the earle of Glencairne fightand, and not thritie of his men alive, vnslaine and fled from: but yit he was at sick ane strenth, that his enemies culd not doe at him, so long as he had any to defend him, bot immediatlíe Sir Andro Wood, the kingis servant, took him and brought him away to ane secreit place, quhair naither the Douglass nor the Hamiltounes might apprehend him to doe him any skaith. This being done, the kingis servandis cam throw the feildis, and saw the lord Hamiltoun weiping verrie bitterlie besyd the earle of Lennox, saying, "The hardiest, stoutest, and wysest man that evir Scotland bure, lyes heir slaine this day, and laid his cloak of scarlet vpoun him, and caused watch-

men stand about him, quhill the kingis servantis cam and buried him.

This battell being finisched, and manie taine and slaine on aither syd, and especiallie the earle of Lennox, and many gentlemen of the wastland with him; and the earle of Glencairne evill voundit to the dead, and many of his freindis hurt and slaine. This cruell and unhappie feild was stricken in the yeir of God, 1526 yeires, in the moneth of September. Then the earle of Angus returned to the king with great glorie and victorie, weill commendit of all men for the chance and victorie that fell to him.

Then the kingis grace, with the earle of Angus, and my lord Hamiltoun, with the Hoomes and Kerris, went all that night to Linlithgow, and remained thair in great merelines. Bot the king himself was very dollorous, for the tinsell of his eame the earle of Lennox, and monie other gentlemen with him, who war all perished throw the kingis awin occasioun, for they interpryssed the matter at the kingis command; and fardder, the king was very suspitious of the earle of Angus, and effeired his awin lyff, becaus the earle of Angus knew that the king had caused interpryse such thingis againes him, and nothing pros-

pered weill with the king againes the said earle. Thairfoir he was in great suspitioun that they wold put hand in his awin bodie, considdering all thingis succeidit so with him. Bot yitt I cannot find that evir the earle of Angus or any of the Douglass failled the king in any pairt, although they war covetous, and greidie, and oppressouris of thair neighbouris. Yitt they war evir true, kind, and servicable to the king in all affaires, and oftymes pat thameselffis in jeopardie for his saik.

This being done, the king returned to Edinburgh, verrie sad and sorrowful, that he o nawayes could cum to his purpose; but yitt he remained quyet within himselff, and the Douglas's evir tuik high upoun thame: quhairthrow they began to punisch all thame that cam againes thame with the earle of Lennox, and speciallie they flied bischop Beatoun so, that he fled away and durst not be seine a long time; and so did Margaret the queine of Scotland, and geid vagand disguysed ane lang tyme, for fear of the Douglassis; and thair-ester thei tuik the king to St Androis, and thair past thair tyme ane quhill: bot they could not find the bischope, for he was keeping scheip in Boigrumoir with ane schepherdis

cloathis vpoun him. Be this way he escaped thair furie for a whill. Bot George Douglas knew weill the bischope of St Androis to be ane great man, and had monie casualties of taxes and teindis to be gottin aff his hand, thairfoir, within ane little whill he aggried with the earle of Angus his brother, and the bischope, for certane teyndis and tackis which the bishop gave him, with vther commodities that he gatt at the said bischopes handis; so that he was receaved againe in the court, and als the queine, without any manis indignatioun outwardlie schowin againes hir, becaus shoe was the kingis mother.

At this tyme, the Douglass pat sore at the lord Lindsay, and thought to have forfault him: bot he gave lairglie of his landis and geir to eschew that invy for the present tyme, thinkand that that court wold not continew long. Fardder, bischope Beatoun called the king and the Douglassis to his pasch to St Andros, and thair maid thame great banquetting and mirrines; and also propyned thame with great giftis, that he might the better pacifie thair wraithis towardis him, and obtaine thair favoures. So the king stayed thair ane quhyll, vsing hunting and hauking vpoun the watter of Eedene, quhyll at the last the earle of

Angus askit leive to pas to Lothiane, to sie his bussines, and left with the king Archibald, his father brother, George, his awin brother, and James Douglas of Parkhead, who was captane of the kingis guard. Bot within tuo dayes, Archibald Douglas, thesaurer, asked leive of the king to pas to Dundie to sie his bussines thair ane day or tuo; som sayes he had ane gentl-voman thair, quhom he longed to visit; and in lyk manner, George Douglas rod aff the toun to gett his taxes performed, promeist be the bischope to the earle of Angus his brother, and left with the king James Douglas of Parkhead, with ane hunder gentlemen with him, to awaitt vpoun the king, quhair he pleased to pas. Bot quhill George Douglas was dressing his bussines with the bischope, the king passed from Falkland park to withdraw himselff from the Douglassis, thinkand it was ane convenient tyme to put himselff to libertie, and out of their handis, quhen the earle of Angus himselff, his brother George, and his father brother Archibald, war all out of his companie. Thairfoir he devysed ane craftie meane, for that effect, and called vpoun the laird of Ferme, forester of the park of Falkland, and chamberland of Fyfe, and caused him to warne all the gentlemen thairabout, that had

speidie doggis, to cum and hunt with him on the morne be sewin houris, for he was determined to slay ane deare or tuo for his pleasour. So he commandit to gett his disjone readie the morne be four houres, and commandit James Douglas of the Parkheid to gange the sooner to his bed that night, that he might ryse the sooner on the morne, and awaitt vpoun him. And than when the king had soupit that night, thairefter he past to his chamber, and loused his cloathis, and called for ane drink, and drank to James Douglas, saying to him that he sould sie guid hunting on the morne, and bad him be tymous, and then the king went to his bed; and when James Douglas saw the king goe to his bed, he thought all had beine sicker enough, and went also to his awin bed. And quhen the wach was set and all at quyettes, the king called upon ane yeaman of the stable, as he had beine on of the watch, and was unperceaved be thame, quhill he was at the stable, and caused him saidle him ane hors for himselff, and ane led hors, and tuik servandis with him, to witt, Jockie Hart, ane yeaman of the stable, with ane vther secreit servand, and lap vpoun hors, and sped him haistilie to Stirling; and cam thair be break of the day, over the bridge thair of: and caused steik the bridge

gaitt behind him, that no man sould winne that passage without his licence; and syne past to the castle, who was heartilie receaved: be the captane thairof, and prepared the castle with all thingis neidfull for his recept, and drew down the portculzeis, and maid all suire, and syne laid the king in his bed, becaus he had riddin all that night. We will latt him sleip in his bed, and returne to George Douglas, who came home to Falkland at ellivin houris at night, and requyred at the porteris quhat the king was doeing, who answered, that he was in his awin chamber sleiping, who was to ryse tymous to the huntis, and richt so said the wachmen. George hearing that, went to his bed, quhill on the morne, that the sone rose. Than cam Patrick Carmichall bailye of Abernethie, and knocked at George Douglas chamber doore, and inquyred of him quhat the king was doeing; George answered, that he was not wakit as yitt in his awin chamber. The bailye answered, "Yea are deceavit, he is along the bridge of Stirling this night." Then George Douglas gatt vp haistilie, and went to the porteris and wachmen, and inquyred for the king, who still answered that he was sleiping in his awin chamber. Then George Douglas came to the kingis chamber

doore, and found it lockit, and dang it vp, bot found no man in it. Then he cryed, "Fye, treasoun, the king was gone and no man wist quhiddir." Some said he was gone to Bambreise, to ane gentlvoman; vtheris said that he was past to Stirling. Then George Douglas lap vpoun hors to ryd to Bambreif, bot within tuo mylles he mett the earle of Rothes, who schew to him that the king was not thair. Then they past to Falkland againe, and consulted quhat was best to be done; and sent ane haistie pest to Tamtallon, to the earle of Angus, to shew him the matter how it stood. Be this Archibald Douglas cam back fra the toun of Dundie; and when they mett altogidder, to witt, the earle of Angus, George and Archibald, they rod altogidder to Stirling, to the king. Bot when the king gott word of his cuming, he send ane herald to the mercatt croce, to proclame be sound of trampett, that nather the earle, his brother George, Archibald, nor none of thair kin and freindis, sould cum neir him be six mylles, vnder the paine of treasoun. Quhen the Douglassis hard tell of this proclamatioun, they consulted togidder quhat was best to be done thairanent; some said they wold pas fordward to the toun, bot the earle himself, and his brother George said

they wold obey the kingis proclamatioun. So they returned and passed backward to Linlithgow, and thair remained ane day or tuo, quhill they gott word from the king : who was at that tyme verrie busie, sending for his lordis to have thair counsall, to witt, he sent for the earles of Huntlie, Argyle, Atholl, Glencarne, Monteith, and Rothes ; the lordis of Graham, Livingstoun, Sinclair, Ruthven, Drummond, Annerdaill, Maxwell, Sempill, Eglintoun, with bischope James Beatoun ; and conveined all thir lordis at Stirling, in the moneth of Junii 1527 yeires ; and thair the king schew thame his mynd, with great lamentatioun ; schowand to thame how he was holdin vnder subjection be the earle of Angus, thir yeires bygane, and be his awin kine and freindis : for he awowed that Scotland sould not hold thame both, quhill he was avengit on thame.

The lordis hearing the kingis complaint and lamentatioun, and als perceaved the great rage he was in towardis the earle of Angus, they concludit all and fand it best that he sould be summondit to vnderly the law ; and if he fand not caution to enter and compeir himself, that he sould be put to the horne and banisch-ed induring the kingis will.

This proces was prosequit accórding to the lordis devyce, and the earle of Angus, his kin, and freindis, war summondit to vnderly the law within ane certane day, or elis be put to the horne. Bot the earle nor non of his compeired the said day, bot war all put to the horne, so many as war contained in the summondis, and war all banished, and esteemed as tratouris to his majestie. Quhairby we may sie that no courtis ar constant in the earth. For this earle of Angus, having the king at his pleasour, could nevir be seperat from his grace, nather be visdome nor power of manes ingyne. But when he was highest, and thought himself in greatest peace and tranquillitie with his prince, dreidand no care thairefter, becaus he had debaitted so many troubles befor in his defence, and foughtin so cruellie, and maid sick slauchter to defend his awin rycht and auctoritie with the king, in tymes bygane, thinkand than thair was no man to pursue him, sieing he had wone the vpper hand on all them that intendit to put him from the king and court: notwithstanding, God moved the kingis heart to exyll and banisch him be this meanes, quhilk I have schowin befor.

The earle of Angus, his kine and freindis, being at the horne in this manner, the king gart mak strait proclamatiounes throw out all burghes, that whosoever recept the earle of Angus, or ony of his kin and freindis, within thair houssis, or had ony dealling with thame, they sould be esteemed as participantis of thair crymes, and convict thairintill. Fardder, the king caused mak proclamatiounes in Fyfe, Angus, Stratherne and Stirlingshyre, Mers and Tiviotdaill, to compeir at Edinburgh the tent day of December, anno for-said, with fourtie dayes victuallis, to pas and seidge Tamtallon, and, to that effect, send to the castle of Dumbar to Captane Moreis, and borrowed great artaillie, and laid pledges for the same, becaus the castle was in the duik of Albanie's handis, and the artaillie thair of his awin: bot it was evir at the kingis pleasour when he had to doe, and that at command of the said duik of Albanie. Bot yit, for observing of guid ordour, pledges war givin. So the artaillie, with the cannonees and cannoneris, war convoyed to Tamtallon, and seidged the same the space of twentie dayes, bot cam no speid*. Bot whidder the castle was so

* The artillery, according to a recent manuscript, consisted of "two great cannonees, throuen mouthed Mow and her

strong, or if the principall seidgeris war corrupted be the earle of Angus' moyane, I cannot tell, bot the king was constrained to pas home to Edinburgh, and left it without any hope of wining thair of; bot had both money, men, and hors, lost at the persute thair of: and at his returning had ane noble captane slaine be Archibald Douglas, [unquhill treasurer and father brother to the said earle,] callit David Falconer, att whose slauchter the king was heavilie displeased. Casting all the moyane he might to obtaine the castle of Tamtallon, knowing twell if he had the castle thair wold be no place to the earle nor his freindis to resort till; thairfor he caused mak moyane with the captane thair of, called Simeon Penango, and promised to give him great giftis and rewardis, both of landis and geir, with the king's speciall favoures, and to remitt all byganes to his brother and near freindis thair of, in lykmaner, excepting the Douglassis alwayes. Of thair offeris the captane tuk him to be advysed till ane certane day, and thairefter to give the king ane answeir.

In this meane tyme the captane send to the earle of Angus, Archibald, and George, to

marrow, with two great boatcards, and two moyanis, two double falkons, and four quarter falkons."

sie quhat was thair myndis, showing to thame that he was evill victualled, and wanted artaillie, powder, and bullettis; thairfoir desired him to furnisch him thairof within ane certane day, or elis he wold be forced to give over the same to the kingis grace. The earle hearing this message of the captane's, was not weill content, becaus he knew weill he might not support him of his desir, becaus he had nather powder nor bullettis, nor could gett non haistilie; nor yitt could he furnisch victuallis, nather be sea nor land, in respect that the king had watchis both be sea and land, evin waching that no furnishing sould cum to the said castle. So the captane received no readie answeir of his maister, nor getting no furnishing, nor knowing of non to cum to him, incontinent he appoyntit with the king, that is, the king sould remitt the said Simeon of all offences bygane, and giue him leive to transport all bage and baggage, except munitionn, and sick thingis as war vsed for the defence of the place. Off thir offeris the king was weill content, and promised to grant the same to the said captane. So the castle was rendit to the king, and he revalidit the said captane richlie. Schortlie thairefter the king causit furnisch the said castle with men, munitionn,

and victuall, and maid ane Oliver Sinclar capitane thair of; and caused massones cum and rainforce the wallis, quhilkis war left wast befoir as transis, and maid all massie work, to mak it the more strong to any that happened to pursue it thairefter.

Then the king caused mak proclamationes out throw the wholl realme, that no man sould foster, succor, sustane, or recept, any Douglas within thair boundis, and thairefter caused bring in thair maillis and dewties to his vse, to that effect that they sould be puire, and have no strenth in tymes cuming. The Douglassis, sieing that in no wayes they could obtaine the kingis favouris to abyde in Scotland, they concludit amongst thaimselfis to pas in Ingland, quhair they war receaved thankfullie, and intertained tenderlie be king Harie the Aught, who intertained thame verrie honorablie ane long tyme.

The king hearing that the Douglassis war absent, sett ane parliament at Edinburgh, the 25 day of Merch 1528 yeires, and thair, in presence of the king and thrie estaites, the earle of Angus and his kine and frendis war forfalt, and thair landis annexit to the croun. This proces of forfaltrie was led as I have schowin yow.

The king past to Stirling and remained thair ane space, and changed manie of his officeris, that is, secritar, comptroller, thesaurer, and Mr Houshold, with vther officeris quhilkis pleased him to remove for the tyme, and pat vtheris in thair place, quhom he thought most expedient, and thairefter maid ane convention at Edinburgh with all the lordis and barrounes, to consult how he might best stanch theiff and river within his realme, and to caus the commounes to leive in peace and rest, quhilk long tyme had beine perturbed befoir. To this effect he gave chairge to all earles, lordis, barrones, frieholderis, and gentlemen, to compeir at Edinburgh with ane monethis victuall, to pas with the king to dauntoun the theives of Tividaill and Annerdaill, with all vther pairtes of the realme, also the king desired all gentlemen that had doggis that war guid, to bring thame with thame to hunt in the saidis boundis, quhilk the most pairt of the noblmen of the Highlandis did: sick as the earles of Huntlie, Argyle, and Atholl, who brought thair deir houndis with thame, and hunted with his majestie. Thir lordis, with many other lordis and gentlemen, to the number of tuelf thousand men, assemblit at Edinburgh, and thairfra went with the kingis

grace to Meggat land, in the quhilk boundis war slaine at that tyme aughteine sooir of deir. Efter this hunting the king hanged Johne Armstrange, laird of Kilnokie, quhilk monie Scottis man heavilie lamented, for he was ane doubtit man, and als guid ane chif-tane as evir was vpoun the borderis either of Scotland or of England. And albeit he was ane lous leivand man, and sustained the number of xxiiij weill horsed able gentlemen with him, yitt he never molested no Scottis man. Bot it is said, from the Scottis border to New Castle of England, thair was not ane of quhat-soevir estate bot payed to this John Armstrange ane tribut to be frie of his cumber, he was so doubtit in England. So when he entred in befor the king, he cam verrie reverentlie, with his forsaide number verrie richlie apparrell, trusting, that in respect he had cum to the kingis grace willinglie and voluntarlie, not being tain nor apprehendit be the king, he sould obtaine the mair favour. Bot when the king saw him and his men so gorgeous in thair apparrell, and so many braw men vnder ane tirrantis commandement, throwardlie, he turned about his face, and bad tak that tirrant out of his sight, saying, "Quhat wantis ye knave that a king sould have." Bot when

Johne Armstrange perceaved that the king kindled in ane furie againes him, and had no hope of his lyff, notwithstanding of many great and fair offeris, quhilk he offered to the king, that is, that he sould sustene himself with fourtie gentlemen, ever readie to awaitt vpoun his majestie's service, and nevir to tak a pennie of Scotland, nor Scottis man. Secondlie, that thair was not ane subject in England, duik; earle, lord, or barroun, bot within ane certane day he sould bring ony of thame to his majestie, aither quick or dead. He sieing no hope of the kingis favour towardis him, said verrie prouddie, "I am bot ane fool to seik grace at ane graceles face. Bot had I knawin, Sir, that yee would have takin my lyff this day, I sould have leved vpoun the borderis in disphyte of king Harie and yow baith; for I knaw king Harie wold doun weigh my best hors with gold to knaw that I war condemned to die this day." So he was led to the scaffold, and he and all his men hanged. This being done, the king returned home to Edinburgh, the xxiiij day of Julij, and remained meikle of that winter in Edinburgh.

Wpoun the next sommer thairefter, the king, togidder with his mother, and ane ambassadour of the Paipis wha was in Scotland for the tyme,

went all togidder to Atholl to the huntis. The earle of Atholl heiring of his coming, maid great and gorgeous provisioun for him in all thingis pertaining to ane prince, that he was als weill eased in all thingis as if he had beine in ane of his awin pallaces. For this noble earle of Atholl caused mak ane curious pallace to the king, his mother, and the ambassadour, quhairby they were als weill eased as if they had beine in ony pallace aither of Scotland or Ingland, and equivalent for the tyme of thair hunting; quhilk was biggit in the midle of ane greine medow, and the wallis thair of was of greine timber, wovin with birkis, and biggit in four quarteris, as if it had beine ane pallace, and in everie quarter ane round lyk ane blokhous, quhilkis war loftit and jeasted thrie hous hicht; the floore wes laid with grein earthe, and strowed with sick floures as grew in the medow, that no man knew quhairon he yead, bot as he had beine in ane greine gardeine. Fardder, thair was tuo great roundis on everie syd of the yett, and ane great portcullies of trie falling down as it had beine ane barrace yett with ane gritt draw bridge, and ane foussie of sixteine fute deip, and thrittie fute broad of watter. This pallace was hung with fyne tapistrie within,

and weill lighted in all necessar pairtes with glassin windowis.

The king was verrie weill intertained in this wildernes the space of thrie dayes, with all sick delicious and sumptuous meattis as was to be hade in Scotland, for fleschis, fischis, and all kindis of fyne wyne, and spyces, requisit for ane prince. Fardder, thair was no fisches that could leive in fresch watteris, but war thair swimming in the foussie about the pallace*. It is said, by the space of thir thrie dayes that his grace was thair, the earle of Atholl was everie day ane thousand pundis of expenss. This Pope's ambassadour sieing so great ane triumph in ane wildernes, quhair

* These things are somewhat more detailed in a later manuscript. "That is to say, all kind of drink, as aill, beer, wyne, both whyte and claret, malvasie, muskadail, elegant hippocras, and aquavitæ; farder, thair was of meattis, wheat bread, maine bread, and ginge bread, with fleshis beiff and mutton, lamb, veill, and vennison, goose, gryse, capon, cunning, cran, swan, pairtrick, plever, duik, drake, brissel, cock, and paunies, black cock, and muirfoull, capercaillies. And also the stankis that were round about the palace were full of all delicat fishes, as salmond, trouttis, pearshes, pykes, giles, and all other kind of delicat fishes that could be gottin in fresch water, and were all readie for the banket. Syne were ther proper stuartis, cunning baxters, excellent cooks, and potingaris, with confections, and drugs for ther dissertis." This passage bears strong evidence of interpolation.

thair was no toun neir be twentie myllis, he thought it ane great marvell that sick ane thing sould be in Scotland: that is, so court lyk and delicious intertainment in the Highlandis of Scotland, quhair he saw nothing bot woodis and wildernes. Bot most of all, this ambassadour, when the king was cuming back from the huntis, marvelled to sie the Highlanderis sett all this pallace on fire, that the king and the ambassadour might sie it. Then the ambassadour said to the king, "I marvell, Sir, yea latt burne yon pallace quherin yea war so weill eased." The king answeirit, "It is the vse of our Highland men, that be they nevir so weill lodged all the night, they will burne the same on the morne." This being done, the king returned to Dunkell that night, and on the morne to St Jonstoun. It is said, at this tyme, in Atholl and Stratherdaill boundis, thair was slaine threttie scoir of hart and hynd, with other small beastis, sick as roe and roebuck, woulff, fox, and wyld cattis, etc.

Thairefter the king cam out of St Jonstoun to Dundie, quhair he was weill intertained be the constable thair of the space of four dayes. And thairefter the king, with his mother and the ambassadour forsaide, past to St Andros, and thair remained till the Michelmas pardon: and was

weill intertained be bischope Beatoun and pryor Patrick Hepburne. Thairefter the king cam to Edinaburgh, and biggit ane fair pallace to him selff, to repose when he cam to the toun. Fardder, he sent to Flanderis and brought home artaillie, pouder, and bullottis, harneise, pickis, and all other kynd of munitioun pertaining to a prince, and garnished his castles thairwith, that is to say, the castles of Edinaburgh, Stirling, Dumber, Dumbarton, and the Blaknes: and fardder, he translated the pallace of Linlithgow, and biggit ane prettie pallace in the toun of Stirling.

In this yeir cam an Inglisch ambassadour out of England, callit lord Williame, ane bischope, and vther gentlmen to the number of thrie scoir horss, quhilkis war all able, wailed gentlmen, for all kynd of pastime, as schotting louping, wrastling, runing, and casting of the stone. Bot they war weill assayed in all these or they went home; and that be thair awin provocatioun, and almost evir tint, quhill at the last the kingis mother favoured the Inglismen, becaus shoe was the king of Englandis sister: and thairfoir shoe tuk ane waigeour of archerie vpoun the Inglischmanis handis, contrair the king hir sone, and any half dozoun Scottismen, ather noblmen, gentlmen, or yea-

manes; that so many Inglisch men sould schott againes thame at riveris, buttis, or prick bonnett. The king, heiring of this bon-speill of his mother, was weill content. So thair was laid an hundreth crounes, and ane tun of wyne pandit on everie syd. The ground was chosin in St Androis; the Scottis archeris was thrie landit gentlmen, and thrie yeamanes, to witt, David Weimes of that ilk, David Arnott of that ilk, and Mr Johne Wedderburne, viccar of Dundie. The yeamanes was Johne Thomsone in Leith, Stevin Tabroner, and Alexander Baillie, who was ane pyper, and schott vondrous neir, and wan the vaigour from the Inglisemen; and thairefter went in to the toun and maid ane banquett to the king and the queine, and the Inglisch ambassadour, with the wholl tuo hundreth crounes, and the tuo tunes of wyne. Albeit that the Inglisemen confessed that the Scottisemen sould have beine fried of the payment of that banqueitt, quhilk was so gorgeous that it was of no les awaill then the said gold and wyne extended to. Fardder, this ambassadour directed his comission to the king in St Andros; showand his grace, if he would cum in Ingland, and speak with the king of Ingland, the king of Ingland would give him the duikdome of York, and

mak him protectour of Ingland, and gouv-
nour, and put hes sone Edward in his handis
in keiping in during his minoritie. The king
was verrie glaid of this offer, and promised
to lord Williame the ambassadour, that he
sould cum in Ingland when he thought tyme
expedient; that is, how soone he had estab-
lished his realme, and put it in guid ordour,
and meitt his vnclie the king of Ingland in ony
place quhair he pleased. So the ambassadour
departed home to his maister the king of Ing-
land, with the king of Scotlandis answeir, who
was verrie rejoyced that the king of Scotland
promised to cum to him, beleiving weill
that he would keip his promise to cum to
him. Nottheles, the wicked bischopes of
Scotland would not thoall the king of Scot-
land to pas thair, but caused him send an am-
bassadour to excuse him, that he might not
win at that tyme for caussis. For the bis-
chopis feared if the king had mett with king
Harie, that he would have moved him to have
castin down the abbeyis and to have altered
the religioun as the king of Ingland had done
a befoir in Ingland. Thairfoir the bischopis
buddit him to byd at home, and gave him thrie
thousand pundis of yeirlie rent out of thair
benefices.

In this meane tyme, thair arose great troubles in the borderis, that the king behoved to send his brother the earle of Murray, to the borderis, and maid him lieftennant, generall, and divided the realme in four quarteris, and caused everie quarter to keip thair awin pairts: quhilkeis continewed the space of ane yeir, and thairefter was called the quarter raidis. Yitt the king was compelled to send the bischope of Aberdeen in ambassage in Ingland, and with him thrie ancient knyghtis, to witt, Sir Alexander Stewart of Garleis, Sir David Barclay of Collerin, and Sir David Weymss of that ilk. Thir ambassadouris past to Ingland, with the kingis commissioun, and secreit letter, writtin with the kingis awin hand, sealed on the back that no man durst oppin it, till he delyvered it to the king of Ingland himselff, and desired him to caus the king of Ingland writt againe in his awin hand writt, that no scribes nor secretaries sould know quhat was betuixt thame bot thamselffis allanerlie.

The ambassadoures past to Ingland at the kingis command, and was weill receaved be king Harie at London, quhair they presented the secreit letter, togidder with thair commissioun to king Harie, desiring his grace to keip

the letter secret to himself onlie, and to send the king of Scotland an answer againe writtin with his awin hand, as he had done to him; quhilk the king of England said he should doe; promeisng to put no man in the counsell thair of. So the ambassadours depairted to thair ludgingis, till on the morne that thei war sent for, and when the bischope of Aberdeine was sett at the counsell; and sieing monie wryttingis of vther ambassadours lying at the boord for thair awin affaires, as they had adoe in diversis realmes, he also saw the king of Scotlandis secret wrytting lying among thame, and als soone as he perseaved it, he start vp from the boord, and tuk the king by the sleive, and led him to a window, and said to him; "Sir, if I durst say with your licence, yea have failed to our maister the king of Scotland." King Harie answeired, "Quhairintill, sir bischope, for rather or I failed willinglie to the king of Scotland, my sister sone, I had rather perrill my croun and all that I have, in on day, thairfoir tell me quhairin?" The bischop answeired, "Ye promiseist that no man sould see the secret letter that I brought to yow; bot your awin bodie onlie; and now it is lying patent and oppin at your boord, that ony man may reid it quha is at yon boord." The king an-

swered and said, "Sir bischope yea are deceived, thair is no man yonder but my awin bodie, they in me, and I in thame, nather dare they reveal any thing they sie yonder, vnder paine of the executioun of themselffis, and forfalthing both of thame and thair posteritie; and if your king vse any other meanes privilie, nor his wyse counsallouris, aither in the government of his bodie, or his realme, [he will not reigne long, nor have his realme] in peace and rest; thairfoir, shew your maister that nather he nor I may be esteemed sundrie from ovr counsallowres if we wold ruell weill."

Be this the king and the bischope satt down to the boord againe to the counsall, quhair all matteris war dressing: and ane guid answer given to the bischope concerning his commissioun. But he was not haistilie dispatched at that tyme, for he remained in Ingland ane quarter of ane yeir. And thairefter when the bischope returned, and schew the king of Scotland king Harie's behaviour towardis the Douglassis, and how he was so givin to intertaine thame, the king was the more suspitious of the Douglassis that war in Scotland, sick as Drumlanrige, and vtheris of that name.

The lady Glamis was accused at this tyme

of lese majestie, and being convict thair of, was brunt vpoun the castle hill of Edinburgh; and in this meane tyme the maister of Forbes was convict and justified for crymes of treasoun, who swore vpoun the scaffold that he was innocent of these crymes of treasoun, quhair of he was convict; but he knew weill it was the innocent slauchter of the laird of Meldrum, that had brought him to that poynt.

Soone efter this thair was ane singular combatt betuixt the laird of Drumlanrige, and the laird of Hempsfeild, that provockit vtheris to the bar-race, for certaine poyntis of treasoun, quhilk the on alleadgit vpoun the other. So when they entered vnder the castle wall of Edinburgh, Drumlanrige being sumquhat sand-blind, and being in ane furie, so meikle the ware, that he knew not quhom he hat nor quhat he hatt; bot in the meantyme Hempsfeildis sword brak, and than the king cryed over the castle wall to the heraldis and men of armes to red thame. At that tyme thair was monie southland men appailled vtheris to the singular combat, befor the king; for ane singular combat durst not be bot in his presence, or be his consent.

Fardder, in this same yeir thair was certane godlie men, who professed the word

of Chryst, called and accused befor the bishopis and kirkmen, who was condemned and burnt be the kingis commissioun at Edinburgh: to witt, the viccar of Dollour, Mr Normond Galloway, and David Strattoun brother to the laird of Lawroustoun. The accusatioun of the vicear of Dollour conteint thir wordis as efter followis: That is, Mr Johne Lather the accuser red the articles in this forme: " Fals heretick, thou sayes it is not lesum to kirkmen to tak your offeirngis and croce presentis, though we have beine in vse of the same consuetud and ordained be the kirk and king; and als our holie father the Pope hes confirmed the same." The viccar answered, " Brother I said not so; bot I said it was not lesum to spend the patrimonie of the kirk as they doe; that is, in ryotous banquetting and on fair vomen, and playing at cards and tables: and nather the kirk weill maintained, nor the people instructed in Godis word, nor the sacramentis dewlie ministrat vnto thame, as Chryst commandit." The accuser sayes, " Denyes thou that quhilk is opinie knawin in the countrie, that thou gave againe to thy parochineris the kow and the vpmost cloath, saying that thou had no richt to thame?" The viccar answered; " I gave thame againe

to tham quho had more mister nor I had." The accuser sayes, " Heretick, thow learned all thy parochineris to say the pater noster, the creed and the ten commandmentis in Inglish, quhilk is contrair to our actis, that they sould knaw what they say?" The viccar answered; " Brother, my people is so rud and barbarous, that they vnderstand no Latine, so that my conscience moved me to learne thame the wordis of thair salvatioun, that is the ten commandmentis, quhilk is the law of God, quhairby they might observe the same. I taught thame the beleife quhairby they might knaw thair faith in God, and Jesus Chryst his sone, and of his death and resurrection for thame. Fardder, I taught and learned thame the dominicall oratioun in the mother tongue, to that effect that they sould knaw quhom to they sould pray, quhat they sould desir and ask in thair prayeris." The accuser sayes, " Why did thow that, by our actis and ordinances of our halie father the Paip?" The viccar answeired; " I follow the actis and ordinances of our maister and saviour Jesus Chryst, and of his apostle Paull, who shewes in his doctrine to the Corinthians in the 14. chap. thair of, saying, ' that he had rather speak fyve wordis to the understanding and

edifieing of the people, nor ten thousand in ane unknowin tongue, quhilk they vnderstood not." The accuser sayes, "Quhair findis thow that?" The viccar answeired; "In my book quhilk is in my sleive." Then the accuser start to the viccar and pulled the buik out of his sleive, and held it to the people saying, "Behold he has the book of heresie in his sleive, quhilk makis all the pley in the kirk." The viccar said, "Brother, God forgive yow, yea ought and sould say better, if yea pleassed, nor to call the evangill of Jesus Chryst the buik of heresie; for I assure yow, dear brother, thair is nothing in this book but the lyff, letter will and testament of our maister and saviour Jesus Chryst, writtin be the four evangelistis for our comfort and instructioun." Then said the accuser, "Heretick, knowis thou that it is contrair to our actis to have ane new testament in Inglis, quhilk is enough to burne the for?"

Then the counsall of the clargie gave sentence on him to be brunt for the vseing of the same buik, the New Testament in Inglis; and also they condemned David Stratoun because he wold not abjure and burne his faggatt, quhilk they war verrie earnest to have done, and the king himselff procured for his

lyff, quhilk the bischopis grantit if he would burne his faggatt, quhilk the said David o nawayes wold doe : quhairfoir the viccar and he war both brunt. I know no caus quhy, bot that this David wold not pay his teindis thankfullie to his persone, and also Mr Normand Galloway was brunt becaus he was in the eastland, and cam home and married ane wayff, contrair the forme of the Pope's institutioun, becaus he was ane priest, to quhom it was not permittit to marrie; bot if he had had ane thousand whores he had nevir beine quarrell-ed!

Efter this the king past to the Illes, and thair punished theife and river condignlie, and caused many of the great Duny vassalis to show thair holding, and fand mony of thame in nonentrie, and thairfoir annexit thame to his awin croun, and brought home manie of the greatest men of the Illes with him, sick as Mackelane, Macky, Johne Mudzert, Mackoneill, Mackinlucifer, with manie other quhom I cannot rehearse. Some of thame he pat in waird, and some of thame baid at court, and other sum of them war keipit as pleadges for keeping guid ordour in the Lewis and Illes, quhairthrow he gatt gritt proffeit and guid obedience and service ane long tyme. And

when the king saw that he had dantonèd the north pairtis and Illes, quhairthrow he was greatumlie rejoyced when he saw all his north countrie in subjection, and at peace and rest, he kest him also with all the moyane he might to bring the south pairtes and borderis to the same subjection and stabilitie, and for that effect he chairgit certane great men in the south land and borderis to enter in waird within the castles of Edinburgh, Blaknes, and Dumbartane; to witt, the laird of Buccleugh in the castle of Edinburgh; the laird of Johnston and Mark Ker war wairdit in Dundie; and thir men he wairdit becaus he knew thair was no break maid nor evill done be the commounes bot be thair adwyce, whairthrow thair was great reiff and hirschipe in the countrie; but thir principallis evir alleadged it to be the commounes quho had the wytt thair of. But fra tyme they war taine thaimselfis and put in captivitie, thairefter was peace and rest in the boundis ane long tyme, [wherethrow the king had great profit, for he had ten thousand sheep going in the Etrick forest, in keeping be Andrew Bell, who maid the king as good count of them as if they had gone in the bounds of Fife.]

In this meantyme the earle of Bothwell, the maister of Sempill, and the laird Drumlanrige,

with certane vther gentlemen, war banished
off Scotland for certane crymes of lese majes-
tie. Not long efter this, the king, sieing the
realme stand in great peace and tranquillitie,
thinkand daylie that it should increas and con-
tinew; to the effect he send to Denmark
and brought home great horss and meires, and
pat thame in parkis, that thair offspring might
be gottin to susteine the warres quhen neid
war. Also he send and furnished the coun-
trie with all kyndis of craftismen, sick as
Frenchmen, Spainyardis, and Duchmen, quhilk
evir was the finest of thair professioun that
culd be had; quhilk brought the countrie to
great policie in respect of the former aige.
This being done, the king send ambassadouris
to the emperour for marriage, to witt, Sir
Johne Campbell of Lowdoun, knyght, and
Sir David Lindsay of the Mont, knyght, who
war thankfullie receaved, and weil intertain-
ed be the emperour, and richlie rewairdit for
the king of Sootlandis saik, and thair was
presentit to thame tuo fair gentlewomen, the
emperouris sister dochteris, who was both lus-
tie, pleasant, bewtifull, and guid lyk person-
ages of vomen; quhairfoir the ambassadeures
brought home thair veive lyk pictures to the
king of Scotland, and presented thame to him.

How he was content thairwith I cannot tell, bot the marriage proceidit no further. But incontinent thairefter the king sent the lord Erskine and the cardinall in ambassadge to France, to the duik of Vandoun, for marriage, and gatt all thingis granted to thame that they desired of the said duik in the kingis name concerning the marriage; bot yitt they had no commissioun to end quhill the king saw the gentlvoman himselff. Quhairfoir the king, sieing his realme stand in guid peace and rest, he dressed himself haistilie to France. So his grace imbarcked and pulled vp sailles, and sailled thrie dayes and thrie nightis and was within lese nor ane dayis sailling to France. Certane lordis that war with him counsalled him to retorne back, saying his grace might have better allyance in vther pairtes, yea in Scotland itselff, nor with the duik of Vandounis dochter. Be this the king fell on sleip, and the saidis lordis perswadit the maister skipper to turne sail, quhilk, be thair persuasion, he did. Bot when the king awok aff his sleip, and perceaved tham sailling ane contrair cours homwardis, he was highlie offendit at all thame that gave counsall thairvnto, and maist of all at the skipper himselff, who obeyed thair counsall. And had not beine the earnest solistatioun of monie

in his favouris he had hanged the skipper incontinent. But thair was nather the skipper, nor none of thame that counsalled him thairto, that evir could obtaine the kingis favoures. Then the king, sieing that he was forced to turne sail, he gart land him at the wast pairtes of Scotland, and than he remained ane space in the ille of Bute, in his awin castle, quhill he send and gatt hors and men to convoy him to the castle of Stirling, quhair he remained ane certane space quhill his schipes cam about to Leith, and remained thair quhill he was provydit to pas to France againe. For the quhilk caus he assemblit his counsall, showand to thame how he was frustratt, and put back from his voyage, as said is, be evill adwysed persones, quhilk, at that tyme, he would not expreame, bot he said, if he leived he sould remember vpoun thame, and rewaird thame for thair guidwill. Notwithstanding he gart provyd shipis, men, victuallis, and artailie, with the best skipperis that could be gotten, to pas to France againe, and caused sundrie of the nobilitie of Scotland to mak thame readie to pas with him within ane certane day : quhilkis war, the earles of Huntlie, Argyll, Atholl, the lordis of Maxwell, Fleming, Levingstoun, Ruthvene, Salton ; the earle Cas-

sillis, the earle Mershell, the earle of Murray, Rothus, the maister of Erskine, for his father was in France alreadie in ambassade; and sundrie barrones and gentlemen war in readines to pas with the king.

Als soone as he was prepared he past to Pittinweyme, and thair he and his nobles imbarcked; syne, with great triumph, pulled vp sailles and passed forwardis to France, and arryved at the New Heavin besid Deip. And als soone as the Frenchmen saw his navie approach neir, they beleived thame to be strangeris, or vnfreindis, quhilk caused thame to be greatumlie effeired; for thair was monie strangeris in his companie, so that he appeired ane great armie. Bot fra tyme they saw the red lyon in the flage, they knew weill it was the king of Scotland, quhair of they war rejoyced exceidinglie, for they hard word of his cuming, so that the brut ran throw France that the king of Scotland was landit at the New Heavin, with ane gritt armie, quhilk tyd-ingis past haistilie to the emperour, quhair he was lying at Calleise, to the number of foirscoir thousand men againes the king of France, quhois leiftenment was camped in lykmaner anent him, with the number of thriescoir thousand men, who daylie skirmished and maid

incursiones on vtheris, quhill at the last, as I have said, word cam to the emperour that the king of Scotland was landed at the Newheavin besyd Deip, with ane armie to the number of twentie thousand warlyk men, and that to support the king of France contrair the emperour. The emperour heiring of this, he tuik sick fear of the king of Scotlandis cuming, that he lifted his armie, and returned home againe. Efter this, the king of Scotland and his nobles being landit, they tuik the post to Pareise, quhair they remained short quhyll, quhyll he past to the duik of Vandoun, quhair he was for the tyme; but the king of Scotland would not shew himselff opinlie at that tyme, bot disguised himself as he had beine ane serwant, to be vnknawin to the duik or his wayff, or the gentlvoman who sould have beine his spous, thinkand to spy hir pulchritud and behaviour vnkend be hir. Notwithstanding this fair ladie took suspitioun that the king of Scotland sould be in the companie, quhairfoir shoe past to hir coffer and tuik out his picture, quhilk shoe had gottin out of Scotland be ane secreit moyane, and als soone as shoe luiked to the picture it maid her know the king of Scotland incontinent quhair he stood among the rest of his companie, and past pearthlie to

they war all greatlie rejoyced, and marvelled meikle of the king of Scotlandis taking the sea in sick eventure, considerring the brokinnes of the seais, and greatt enemies on everrie syd; also they marvelled meikle of his great diligence in taking the post and cuming vnto thame without fear of ony thing that might happin for the tyme. So als soone as the dolphine of France saw the king of Scotland, he ran and gatt him in his armes, and shew him that the king his father would be greattumlie rejoyced of his coming, considerring how it stood with him; for a litle befor, his eldest sone, quho was duik of Orleance, was poysoned in ane chappell be ane Italiane, quhairat the king of France was heavilie displeased. Bot the coming of the king of Scotland and the said dolphine cam quhair the king lay att ane efter noone's sleip in ane chamber, att the doore of the quhilk his sone, the dolphine, rapit verrie rudlie, quhilk moved the king himselff to inquiryre who it was that rapit so to vnquyet him. The dolphine answeired, "Sir, it is the king of Scotland com to sie your grace, and to comfort yow." The king of France hearing this, braid him from his bed, and oppined the doore himselff and receaved the king of Scotland in his armes, thanking

God that he had taine ane sone from him, and sent him ane sight and meitting of that noble prince, quhom he wold esteme as his awin sone, gottin of his awin bodie : and gave command to the dolphine to awaite vponn the king of Scotland, and to serve and reverence him as his eldest brother, and sie that sick servandis as war with him war intertain-ed according to thair estate. Bot the king of France tarried no longer thair, bot caused sound his trumpettis, and all men to hors; and also he caused get fresch horss to the king of Scotland. That night they raid to ane palace called * * * * and thair remained that night.

This meanetyme the king of Scotland oversaw not to give dew reverence to the queine with the rest of hir dames, and in speciall to Magdalene, the kingis dochter, quho was ryding in ane chariott, becaus shoe was seiklie, and might not ryd vpoun hors. Yitt notwithstanding all hir seiknes and malice, fra tyme shoe saw the king of Scotland, and spak with him, shoe became so enamoured with him, and loved him so weill, that shoe wold have no man alive to hir husband, bot he allanerlie, quhairof the covnsallis both of Scotland and France lyked nothing thairof: for thei war certified be doctoris and physitianes, that no successioun wold

cam of hir bodie, be reasoun of hir long seiknes, and that shoe was not able to travell out of the realme to no other countrie, quhilk if shoe did, shoe wold not have long dayes. Yitt nottheles, the ardent love that this gentlvoman buire to the king of Scotland, caused hir father, the king of France, consent vnto hir marriage with the king of Scotland; and to that effect desired the king of Scotland to the same, who consented haistilie thairto, for the love that he buire to the king of France. Also he knew that thair was great proffeit and freindschip to be gottin at the king of France hand; and syne the gentlvoman being his eldest dochter, he thought it was not guid to him to refuse that honorabill offer. So, as I have said, the king of Scotland consented to marrie hir, quhilk efter, when he cam to Pareis, was triumphantlie solemnizat in that citie. That is, the king and counsall of France on the ane pairt, and the king of Scotland with the most pairt of the nobilitie on the other pairt, in forme and effect as after followis: That is to say, the king of Scotland sould tak to wayff and marie, in presence of God and his holy kirk, Magdalene, eldest dochter to the king of France; to treat hir and honour hir according to hir estate and noble birth, quhair of shoe is descend-

it, and give hir sick lordschipes and landis in conjunct fie as becam hir honorabill estate. And also the old band betuixt Scotland and France sould be ratified and renewed againe betuixt thir tuo kingis, to indure and stand for evir, lykas it was first contracted be thair predecessoures; and farder, for this caus, for the love that the king of France buire to the king of Scotland, he sould delyver to him with his dochter, within yeir and day immediatlíe following, all and haill the sowme of ane hundred thousand crounes besydis ony other thing, or ony other pleasour that the king of Scotland would desir of him.

The principall headis of the contract being formed in this manner, the king of Scotland sent for mony of his lordis and barrones to cum to him and honour him in the solemnizing of his marriage, and to be present at Pareis the day appoyntted, in thair best array, for the honour of Scotland, as they would doe him speciall honour and service. Thir lettres being seine be the lordis of Scotland, both spirituall and temporall, they war greattumlie rejoyced thairat, and so many as the king writt for to France to his grace, addressed thamselvis haistilie to cum to him, everrie ane verrie weill furnished and attyred according to thair

estaites; and they that passed to France war six earles, six lordis, six bischopes, and twentie great barrones, quhilk might best pas for the tyme. And when they cam to Pareis at the day appoyntted, they war heartilie receaved be the king of France, and counsall thair of, and weill interteined, everie man according as behoved his estat; and also the king of Scotland was richt rejoyced when he saw his subjectis so obedient to doe him honour and service. This being done, the marriage was solempnized in the citie of Pareis, in Notorodamus kirk, about the tent hour of the day, in presence of God and that honorabill congregatioun, quhilk was the king of France, his nobilitie and counsall, on the one pairt; the king of Scotland, his nobilitie and counsall on the vther pairt, whose names war tedious to rehearse; for thair was never sick solemnitie nor sick nobilitie seine in France in on day, as was at that tyme thair. For through all France that day thair was justing and runing of horss proclaimed, with all other manlie exercise, as also skirmishing of schipes, through all the coastis and firthis; so that in tounes, landis, seas, firthis, villages, castles, and toures, thair was no man that might have hard for the reard and noyse of cannone and vther muni-

tioun, nor scarslie have seine for the vapouris thair of. Thair was also within the toun of Pareis, cuning carveris, and profound nigrómanceris, who be thair airt caused thingis appear quhilk wes not, as followis; fowleis flieing in the air, spoutting fyre on otheris, riveris of watter runing through the toun, and shipis fightand thairvpon. Thir conceittis war maid to the great wonder of such as tendit to the furth setting and solemnizing of that day, to doe the king of Scotland and the king of France, thair maisteris, honour and pleasour. Efter this triumph was endit, the king of Scotland sought leive to pas home to his awin countrie, with his new queine, and his nobilitie; and the king of France, sieing that the king of Scotland and his spous would depairt home to thair awin countrie, incontinent he gart prepar schipes and galleis, with victuallis and artaillie, with captanes and companies of men of warre, to convoy the king of Scotland, his sone in law, and his dochter Magdalene throw the seas, that thei war saiffie preserved be thame till they cam to thair awin countrie, and also he gart prepar tua great schipes with cannohes and culveringis, with hagbuttis of found and crocebowis, with all other ordinance and veaponis. Quhan thir schipes war weill prepar-

ed, the king of France presented thame to the king of Scotland, to vse thame as he thought guid: quhilkis schipes remained in Scotland ane long tyme thairefter; the ane of thame was called the Sallamander, and the vther the Morischer. The king of Scotland had tuo of his awin at that tyme; the ane of thame was callit the Marrivillibe, and the other callit the Great Lyon, quhilk war the principall schipes that brought the king and queine through the sea. Efter this the king of France caused his maister stabler pas to his curie, [wher his great hors wer,] and waill tuentie of the best of thame, and bairdit thame with harneis, and presented thame to the king of Scotland. And fardder, he caused his armourer gang to his guardhous, and tak out twentie stand of overgilt innanelled harneis. Syne he called vpoun his dochter Magdalene, the queine of Scotland, and caused hir pas to his wairdrop with hir gentlvoman and ladies, and take hir stickis of claith of gold, velvet and satines, etc. as shoe pleased to cloath hir and hir maries, or any other tapistrie of paill or robbis that shoe could find in his wairdrop. Heirefter he gave hir ringis, tabletis, with monie other coastlie jewellis; so that this young queine brought ane infinite substance in Scotland with hir.

After this the king of Scotland took his leive of the king of France, the queine, court, and haill nobilitie thair of: and so did his young queine Magdalene, and cam to the Newheavin of Deip, and thair remained ane day or tuo till the wind was fair. So they imbarcked and pulled vp sailles, and cam swiftlie through the seas, and landit the fyft day in Leith, with all the navie, quhilkis war about the number of fyftie schipis of Scottismen, Frenchmen, and strangeris, that convoyed the king throw the sea. And when the queine was cum vpoun Scottis eard, shoe bowed hir down to the same, and kissed the mould thair of, and thanked God that hir husband and shoe was cum saiff throw the seas. Thairefter, they passed to the abbey of Hallirudhous, thair to remaine, quhill the triumph of hir arrival and velcome home war maid: quhilk began to provyd in all pairtes of Scotland, and speciallie in Edinburgh, and vther head burghes, quhilkis war all commandit to mak provision for the queines recept. But this grit triumph and great mirrines was soone turned to dollour and lamentatioun; for the queine deceast this same day, that hir grace landit, quhilk maid ane dollorous lamentatioun, that was maid in burghes, for triumph and mirrines wes all

turned in deregies and soull massis, quhilkis war verrie lamentable to behold *.

But we will latt hir rest with God, and returne againe to France, to the duik of Vandones dochter, quho tuke sick displeasour at the king of Scotlandis marriage, that shoe deceast immediately thairefter: quhairat the king of Scotland was highlie displeased, thinkand that he was the occasioun of that gentlvomanes death.

Also efter this, the king sent againe in France in ambassade, my lord Erskine, the cardinall, the archbischope of St Androis, and that in marriage for the duchess of Lorane, and dochter to the duik of Guyse. And thair the saidis ambassadoures, with adwyse of the king of France, and counsall, aggried the marriage in all poyntis, according to the king of Scotlandis pleasour: syne send him word with all diligence, that they had endit the matter, and apoyntted the day of marriage, as the king thair majster had given thair commissioun. The king hearing of thir tydingis, was verrie glaid of thair expedition, and gart prepare haistelie ane navie of shipes, and the lord Maxwell admiral thairof, with vther lordis and barrounes, to the number of ten thousand, by

* This is probably erroneous, for it appears that the queen survived forty days.

the kingis awin housold, quhilk passed in companie with the king himselff. Also, the king gave the lord Maxwell a commissioun to pas to France to sie the queine married, and thairefter to resave hir in keiping, quhill he brought hir to the Newheavin, and thair to embark als soone as the wind would serve thame: and this the lord Maxwell and his navie exped with all diligence, and haisted the kingis commissioun as he was directed, and past to the Newhavin with the queine, and pulled vp sailles, and merched towardis Scotland with hir. Bot, because the cardinall got no charge in the queines home coming, nor was not latten in the schip with hir, he was discontent with the lord Maxwell, the admirall, quhilk gendrit hattred thairefter, as yea sall heir. Also, the queine landit verrie pleasant in a pairt of Fyfe, callit Fifenes, besyd Bukony, quhair shoe remained quhill horss cam to hir; and the king was in Sanct Androis for the tyme with monie of his nobilitie, awaitting on hir home coming: who, when he hard word that the queine was landit in sick ane pairt, incontinent he rod furth with all his wholl lordis, both spirituall and temporall, and mett the queine, and ressayed hir with great joy and mirrines, of fearssis and playes

maid and prepared for hir. And first she was ressaved at the new abbey yett. At the east syd thair of, thair was maid to hir ane triumphant fears, be Sir David Lindsay of the Mont, knyght, alias lyon king of armes, who caused ane great cloud to cum down out of the heaves abone the yett: Out of the quhilk cloud, came down ane fair ladie, most lyk ane angell, having the keyis of Scotland in hir hand, and delyvered tham to the queines grace, in signe and token, that all the heartis of Scotland war oppin for ressaying of hir grace: with certane orationes maid be the said Sir David to the queines grace, desiring hir to fear God, and to reverence and obey hir husband, and keip hir awin body cleine according to Godis will and commandementis. This being done, the queine was ressaved in hir lodging, quhilk was called the New Innes*; and thair shoe lodgit for that night, till on the morne, at ten houres; shoe passed to the abbey kirk, quhair shoe saw manie lustie lordis and barrones, weale arrayed in thair abulyementis againes hir cuming: also the bishopis, abbotis, monkis, and channones, maid regular and great solemnitie in the abbey with mess, songis, and playing on the

* Or New Freiris.

organes. Efter this, the queine was ressaved be the king in the abbey to hir denner, quhair thair was great mirth of shalmes, trumpettis, and diverss vtheris instrumentis all that day.

Vpoun the morne, the queine passed throw the toun, and visited all the colledgis and kirkis thair of, and when shoe came home back to the pallace againe, shoe confessed to the king that shoe nevir saw in France so many pleasant fearsis in so little rowme, as shoe did that day in Scotland: for shoe said it was showin to hir in France, that Scotland was bot ane barbarous countrie, desolat of all pleasant commodities: bot now shoe saw the contrair. Also, shoe said, shoe nevir saw more fair personages of men and vomen as shoe had seine that day in so little boundis. At thir wordis, the king was greatlie rejoyced, and said to hir, "Forsooth madame, yea sall sie better or yea goe."

The king and queine remained in St Androis the space of fourtie dayes, with gritt mirrines, sick as justing on horss, and running at the listis, archerie, and hunting, and all other princelie games. Thairefter the king and queine went to Couper in Fyfe, and dyned thair, and syne passed to Falkland, and thair remained sewin or aught dayes in hunting of

the fallow deer : syne passed to Stirling, quhair he was weill ressaived in the toun and castle with gritt mirrines. Thairefter his grace cam to his awin pallace in Linlithgow, and remained ane day or tua, quhilk pallace the queine highlie commendit, saying, shoe nevir saw a more princie pallace. Thairefter the king and queine cam to Edinburgh, quhair the queine was ressaived with gritt triumph and richlie revairdit and propyned be the proveist and tounschip, both with gold and spyces, wyne, and curious playes maid to hir be the said toun; and so did the rest of the head burges of Scotland, when the queine passed to thame*.

So it passed over meikle of ane yeir, quhill at the last the queine became with chyld, and when hir tyme cam brought home ane sone, and was delyvered at Sanct Androis. He was

* [And so was ther lykwayes in Dundie, the space of sex dayes very magnificently treated be the toun, where the queen made her entres. Att the whilk tyme, the earle of Arroll was married with the earle of Lennox eldest sister, for the tyme, be advyce of the kingis majestie, with great solemnitie of mariage, the archbishop of Glasgow and Caithness being present with the king; this was done upon the fyfth day of August, in the yeir of God preceeding. And St Johnston every man of thame received ther queen and mistress as it became them to doe.] Modern MS.

honorabilie baptized with great triumph, as was the wse of the countrie, and was styll'd James Stewart, duik of Rothsay, and prince of Scotland, and was brought vp and nurished in St Andros, the space of ane yeir: quhill within short quhill thairefter, the queine his mother conceaved and bure ane vther sone, quho was named Robert Stewart, duik of Albanie, earle of Fyfe and Monteith.

In the yeir thairefter the king tuik purpose to repair all his castles and pallaces, thinkand that God had sent him sick successioun, that he neided not to cair bot for his awin pleasour, and so he becam insolent and vnmyndful of Godis benefitis that he had bestowed vpoun him, and was meikle addicted to his awin fantasies; and sensuall lustis in vsing his awin particular affaires, rather be counsall of his awin flattring domestickis, than be his lordis and honorabill counsall, and be the advyce of certane kirkmen, who pat him in beleive that he might vse his bodie as he pleased, for they sould stand guid for his soull; who so abused this noble prince, that they maid him to vnderstand that all his lordis and barrones, and all vther gentlemen, that red the word of God in Inglisch, that they war all plaine heritickis, and not worthie to live vnder ane Cris-

tiane king; but deserved rather to be brunt, and their landis confiscat, and brought to the kingis vse. So with thair godlie papisticall counsall, they intyssed and abused this noble king, and cused him to break his promeis to the king of Ingland, quhilk he had maid be the adwyce of his nobles and counsallouris, and to ratifie the same had interchanged his great seall with Ingland, for amitie, vntie, and peace, intymes cuming: and to that effect the king of Ingland cam to York, to meitt the king of Scotland, in the yeir of God 1540 yeires: for the king of Ingland was verrie desirous heirof, as may be seine be his reasonable offerris in his commissioun given to his ambassadoures, who presented the same to the king of Scotland, to witt, lord Williame, and ane bischope, quhilk was verrie reverentlie delyverit, in the king of Inglandis name, and was heartilie ressaived be the king of Scotland, and that be the counsall of his wayff and honorabill lordis, who thought the king of Inglandis commissioun ane reasonable desir, and not to be denyed, bot rather to be grantit for both the weilfares of the realme; for the king of Inglandis commissioun was nothing to derogate the king of Scotlandis honour in any pairt, bot rather to advance him according to his

princlie estat. For the king of Ingland, think-
and he had no man so sib or tender to him as
the king of Scotland, his sister sone, nor thair
was no creatur that he loved or favoured so
weill, except his sone Edward, quhom he
thought to put in his governance, becaus he
was aiged, and thought his lyff would not in-
dure, thairfoir he desired effectuouslie to speak
with the king of Scotland, his sister sone, that
he might mak him duik of York, and gover-
nour of Ingland, and put his sone in his handis
and keiping, thinkand that the king of Scot-
land was most native and kynd to him, and if
any thing hapened he would defend him; for
the king of Ingland had evir ane suspitioun,
that if God callit himselff, some of his nobles
would assay, and put at his sone Edward, and
trouble him in the bruiking of his authoritie
and realme, as efter they did. Thairfoir this
noble king send his heartlie mynd and com-
missioun to the king of Scotland, as said is,
and for no other caus, bot to have joyned both
the realmes in peace, vntie and love, that they
might have beine the more able to defend
thamselfis againes thair enemies, when tyme
occurred. Bot the vngodlie papisticall bis-
chopes, with vther kirkmen, tuik sick fear, be-
leivand that if the king of Scotland and the

king of Ingland had mett, thair papisticall impiyre sould have beine abolisched, becaus the king of Ingland laitlie befor had abolisched all idolatrie, and cassin doun the abbayes, and maid the word of God to be preached, and have frie passage through all Ingland. The bischopis taking sick feare of this, that if those kingis mett, it sould become so of thame, thair abbeyes and rentall, quhairfor they kest all the meanis they might to stay the said meeting, sometyme by craft and ingyne, and vther quhylls by persuasionnes, saying to the king that he sould not want als lang as thair war ane kirk benefice in Scotland, and gave the king in the meantyme, and assigned to him threttie thousand pundis of yeirlye rent, out of thair benefices, to defend the libertie of thair kirk, and present professioun, etc. Yitt for all this the king was weill myndit to have keipit his promeise to the king of Ingland, and that be adwyse of the lordis, whom the bischopis persaved counsalled the king in this manner, that they could not be content thairwith, and would faine have beine revengit on the lordis and gentlmen, quhom they beleived was counsallouris of the king to mett with his vnclie the king of Ingland, quhilk they desired on nowayes sould be done, becaus they

also beleived thair sould be no lyff for thame; and tharefoir devysed to put ane discord and variance betwixt the lordis and gentlmen with thair prince; for they delaited, and gave vp to the king in writt, to the number of thrittie scoir of earles, lordis, and barrones, gentlmen and craftismen, that is, as thei alledgit, wer all heretickis, and leived not after the Pope's lawis, and ordinance of the hollie kirk; quhilk his grace sould esteme as ane capitall cryme, to ony man that did the same. Fardder, they said to the king, "Quhat neidis yow goe to Ingland, for onie commoditie or advancment that the king of Ingland will give yow; we sall mak your grace to have at home of your awin in great abundance, so that ye will doe justice as we devyse vpoun thir heretickis, quhilkis we have givin yow in billis, quho ar all great reidares of the Old and New Testament in Inglis, with vther abuses which we sall latt yow sie, and tak vpoun our consciences, that all thair landis, rentis, guidis, and geir apperteanis properlie to your grace, for thair contempt of our hollie father the Pope, and his lawis, and high contempt of your grace' authoritie. Thairfoir, will yea doe justice to vs heirintill, and we will give yow ane hundreth thousand pundis in money, yeirlie rent, to augment the

patrimonie of your croun in tymeis cuming, to supply your warres againes our old enemies of Ingland, or ony other natioun that happines to assail your grace ; and we will desir no more of yow bot that yea will give vs ane temporall judge, quhom we will devyse, to doe justice on thir wicked heretickis, quhilk wilbe to your great honour and proffeit, and to the advancement and manteaning of the hollie kirk, and our father the Pope's lawis. Quhairfor we have no doubt but the Pope will rewaird your grace honestlie for maintaining of his authoritie."

The king, hearing thir fals intysementis of the bischopis and frieres againes God and his servandis; the king nothing moved thairwith of the love that he aught to God and his true subjectis, bot rather affected the covetousnes and abusiounes of the bischopes, answered in this manner: " I would faine that yea had justice, that the hollie kirk may be defendit, and the libertie thairof ; thairfor nominat ane man whom yea will chose, that will execute justice most sharplie and rigourouslie for punishment of these heretickis ; and I sall allow him, and give him my power and commandement, quhairvir he findis ane heretick to burne him, and put him to death at your pleasures."

Off this answer the bishopsis war verrie weill pleased, and choosed Sir James Hamiltoun, the kingis familiar servand. They knew him to be one of thair awin sect, and ane blood thristing man, without fear of God. So the said Sir James acceptit the office verrie willinglie, and was weill content thairwith that the king had givin him that authoritie, saying to his grace, that he did him nevir sic ane pleasour, as in making him criminall judge to those vnhappie heretickis, beleiving suirlic to gaine lairglic thairby, and said that for the kingis pleasour and the kirkis, he sould mak thame hott in the fire. Bot the Almightye God sieing the abuse of this king, and the blind furie of Sir James, he haistilie turned the kingis favour vpoun Sir James, that he was tain and cassin in prisson, and shortlie thair- efter shamfullie justified, as yea sall heir after- wardis. For this Sir James Hamiltoun, lord Evandaill, being on of the kingis principall and familiar servandis, the king had directed him, in the moneth of Apryll and yeir of God 1541 yeires, to Rose, to repair his castle thair, that he might remain thair at his pleasour, the space of ane yeir, togidder with his queine and court, and to this effect gave the said Sir James thrie thousand crounes to fle maissones, to

compleat his work in the Rose of Bute ; and on the morne thairefter the king past out of Edinburgh to Falkland, and as he was ryding out the way, thair cam on to him, called James Hamiltoun, the sheriff of Lithgowes sone, quho, falling on his knies, desired verrie effectuouslie to speak with the king ; quhairat the king was in some pairt effeired, and askit at him quhat moved him, for it was earlie in the morne, befoir onie man moved. This James answeired, " I have certane thingis to show your grace, for the weillfair of your awin lyff and bodie." Then the king turned him haistilie about, and gave him ane ring aff his finger, and said to him, " Gae thy ways to the chequer hous, quhair thow will find the thesaurer, secritair, and Mr Houshold, and show thy mynd to thame, as thow wold doe to me, and bid thame hear the as I war present myselff, and doe thairefter as they think guid." With this the king passed to the Ferrie, towardis Fyfe, and the said James went to the chequer hous, as he was commandit, and thair he fand the thesaurer, secritair, and Mr Houshold, and thair presentit the kingis ring, and tokin to thame to hear his mynd, quhilk the lordis acceptit, and desired him to say on, and thair to shew to thame sundrie poynttis of treasoun on Sir James Hamiltoun, how at sundrie tymes

he was purposed to slay the king, and yitt continewed in the same mynd, when he fand opportunitie to doe the same. Quhilk whan the lordis hard this dittay givin in be Sir James Hamiltonnes awin native coussing, they gave it no credence, bot they concludit that they wold tak the said Sir James and put him in prison, quhill they hard the kingis will thairintill, and immediatlie they arose all thrie, and tuik ane lyon herald with thame, and went to Sir James' ludging in Edinburgh, and tuik him out, and pat him in waird in the castle of Edinburgh, thair to remaine induring the kingis will. Bot when the said Sir James was takin and put in the castle, and no causs told him, nor knawin quhairfoir, he was highlie commoved at his imputteris, and writt ane letter to the king, showand him how he was vsed, and put in waird be the saidis persones, who war his awin familiar companiones, and thairfoir desired his grace that he would caus releive him out of captivitie, that he might cum and speak with his grace. Bot when the king hard tell of his imputting, he was not content thairwith, and writt to the captane of the castle of Edinburgh to delyver him, showand to him that they should have no thank that war his imputteris. Quhilkis, when the secritar, thesaurer, and maister houshold hard, they war not content,

thinking, besyd the kingis doun look at thame, the said Sir James wold not faill to acquyt tham commoun if he obtained the kingis pardoun at that tyme. Quhairfoir they passed all to the king, and shew him the terrible dittay givin in on Sir James Hamiltoun, and givin vp be his awin freind, James Hamiltoun; and said to him, if his grace left sick dittayes vnpunished, that he wold not be long king of Scotland; and so they put the king in sick ane fray and evill will againes Sir James, that he cam suddenlie out of Falkland, quhair his grace was for the tyme, to Edinburghe, and brought the said Sir James out of the castle to the tolbooth, and gave him ane fair assyse of the lordis and barrones, who convicted him of sundrie poynttis of treasoun, and thairefter was headed and quartered, and his landis annexit to the croun; quhair of the countrie marvelled meikle, that such ane man of so gritt credence was so suddenlie put down, by ony manis expectatioun: quho judgit it to be the will of God that had chanced it so to Sir James; for he was evir ane tarrant and ane blood shedder, and conquest his landis and geir with litle or nocht: and last of all, for the pleasour of the bishopis and kirkmen, tuik vpoun him to be judge criminall to burne guid subjectis and Godis servantis.

And this same yeir ane storme, callit the evill stoorme, begane the fourteine day of Yuill, and continewed untill the tenth day of Appryll thairefter.

Be this we may sie, that when ane man standis oftentimes in highest degrie in our sight, they are neirest ane fall in the sight of God, as we may sie the lyk exampell in the buik of God itselff, in the historie of Haman and Mordecay, when Haman stood in highest and greatest credit with the king Assuerus, his maister, he could not be content with his poore brethraine, the Jewis, bot he wold purchase ane commissioun from the king to put all thir forsaidis to the dead, and to confiscatt thair geir to the kingis proffeit: and all this he did for invy of poore Mordecay, becaus he wold not worschip him and flatter him in his auctoritie, contrair to his conscience. Thairfoir he caused prepair ane gallous for him, quhairon, be the providence of God, and prayer of the people, he was hangit himselff, and his guidis, geir, and land, givin to Mordecay in escheit. Richt so the furie of Sir James Hamiltoun, quhilk he thought to have exerced vpoun Godis servantis, be the counsall of evill and seditious bischopis, was in the end suddenlie turned vpoun himselff. Bot we will latt him rest, and returne to our purpose.

The king tuik ane great suspitioun of his nobles, thinkand that aither ane or vther of thame would deceave him, and sumtymes in the night thair appeared to him visiones in his bed. For he thought Sir James Hamiltoun, quhom immediatelie befor he had gart execute, appeared to him, and pulled out ane sword and strak aff his right arme.

Att this tyme the king of Ingland cam to York, and thought to have mett with the king of Scotland according to his promise; bot the bischopis would not latt the king of Scotland keip his promeis, quhilk highlie displeassed the king of Ingland, and gart warres aryse vpoun the borderis. Againe Sir James Hamiltoun appeired to the king in his sleip, saying to him, "Thow hes gart slay me vnjustlie, for I was innocent of these crymes quhair-of I was convict. Though I was ane sinner againes God, yitt I nevir failed to the; for if I had beine als guid ane servant to him as I was to the, I had not died that dead. Bot now, thairfoir, thow sall vant both thy armes, and sall remaine in sorrow ane quhyll, and then I will cum and stryk thy head from the." With this the king vaikned out of his sleip in ane great fear, and shew the same to his secret servandis who war about him for the tyme, quho war discontent of his visioun,

thinkand that they would hear haistilie tydings of the same. Bot on the morne word cam to the king that the prince was verrie seik, and lyk to die. When the king hard thairof he haisted him to Sanct Andros, bot, or he could cum, the prince was depairted, quhairat the king was verrie sad and dollorous. Notwithstanding, immediatelie thairefter the post cam out of Stirling to the king, showand him that his second sone, the duik of Albanie would not leive; and, or the king could be in Stirling, he was also depairted. Quhois departoures war both within fourtie aucht houres: quhilk caused great lamentatioun to be in Scotland, and in speciall be the queine, thair motheris. Bot the queine comforted the king, saying, they war young eneugh, and God would send thame more successioun: And within schort quhill thairefter the queine conceived and became with chyld, to the great comfort of the king and realme.

Soone efter this the bordoures of Scotland begane to break, and thair was great hirschipe and oppressioun, both by sea and land; quhilk, when the king saw, he sett his intend to remeid the same, and send certane bandis of men of warre to the borderis to defend thame againes the Inglismen. Soone efter this ane parliament was sett, to be haldin at Edinburgh,

the tent day of Julij, anno forsaid, and thair the king maid revocatioun of all thingis that he had done in his lese aige, that might hurt his patrimonie, or libertie of his croun, and also he ratified and amplified all thingis that he had done in amplifieing of his patrimonie, and in speciall the annexatioun of the lordschip and landis of the South Illes, with the tuo Kintyres and thair castellis, with the landis and houssis pertaining to the Douglassis, and the earledome of Angus; the landis of Jedwart forrest, with the landis and lordschip of Bothwall; the landis of Tamtallon, with all other landis pertaining to the banished Douglas-sis. And sicklyk the landis and lordschip of Glames, with the lordschip of Annerdaill, the castle of Draffan, with all other landis perteaning to Sir James Hamiltoun, quhom all he had latlie forfalt; and maid ane act that it sould not be lesum to his successouris quhatsumevir, king, queine, governour, nor regent, to dispose ony of the saidis landis from his patrimonie, aither be frie act or reclamatioun, or yitt be setting in few ferme, or ony way to restore the aires thair of againe; and that it sould be lesum to the nixt crowned king to mell with the saidis landis as the rest of his predecessouris patrimonie, but ony proces of law. Thir statutis and lawis being finisched, the king took

ane taxatioun of fyve shillingis off everie pund land through all Scotland, quhilk raise to the sowme of threttie thousand pund Scottis, to sustaine the kingis men of warre.

The yeir following the king maid his sister sone, the earle of Huntlie, leiftennent of the borderis, and gave him chairge of ane armie of ten thousand men to defend the saidis borderis, and placed in companie with him, to be his counsallour, ane wyse and stout knyght, callit Sir Walter Lindsay of Torphichen and lord of St Johne, who was weill practiced in warres, both in Italie and Spaine, and had oftymes foughtin againes the Turkis in defence of the Christianes, being in companie with the lord of the Rhodis in Italie, and thairefter cam in Scotland and served the king, and cam in great credit with his grace. For albeit the earle of Huntlie was leiftennent, he had the wholl gouvernement of the armie. Yitt the king commandit, when occasioun offerred, that the earle of Huntlie sould have the vanguard when evir they had a doe with Ingland, quhilk was haistilie thairefter. For thir tua noblmen passed out of Edinburgh to the borderis the tent day of Julij, anno 1542 yeires. Bot soone efter the Inglisemen getting word of thir forces, adverteised the king of Ingland heirof, who sent ane gritt armie, quho gar-

nisched Bervick, Norrem, and Wark, and skirmished with the Scottis the space of ane moneth, bot they got litle vantage, quhill at the last, the Inglismen purposed to burne Jedwart and Kelso, wher the leiftennent lay with his armie; bot it was not so quyetlie provydit, bot the leiftennent hard som thing thairof be certane spyes quho knew the Inglismenis purpose, quhilk was to cum in the dawning of the day. Bot the Scottis prevented the tyme, and passed furth to the feildis about midnight, and watched starklie the Inglismenis incuming. So, in the break of the day, the watchis cam and shew the leiftennent that the Inglismen war at hand within the space of thrie mylles, with ane armie of ten thousand men, weill arrayed, in thrie battellis, and the leaderis and governouris of the saidis armie was the earle of Angus and George his brother, who befoir war banished in Ingland; and with thame in companie was my lord Bowes, and certane of the Peirceis of Northumberland, with Sir Ralph Lather, [Sadler] Sir Johne Witheringtoun, and Sir Williame, his brother, with monie other guid captaines and souldiours, to quhom the king of Ingland comittit the credit of his armie. Then the Scottis governour, as I have showin, took no fear thairof, but passed manfullie fordward

to meitt thame, puttand his men in this ordour. That is to say, he thought guid to give this lord of St Johne the vangaird, and with him ane thousand speares, and ane thousand bowmen, and fyve hundreth hagbutteris : and the leiftennent himself in the great staill, and with him four thousand speares, tuo thousand with bowis, and twa handit swordis, quhilkis war in number sax thousand men : and then day light began to shyne, and the armies appeared in vtheris sight ; and when the Inglise armie perceaved the Scottis armie in thair sight, and they not forseine thairwith, thair courage slakned, and they took purpose to give backis and flie. On the vther syd, this noble captane, lord of St Johne, persaved that the Inglismen war not lyk to give battell, cryed for swift horssis to give thame the skirmisch. With that the Inglismen gave backis and fled, quhairon followed this noble lord verrie scharplie, and slew and tuik many of thame in the chase, to the number of twentie four scoir of gentlmen that war takin prisoneris, and ten scoir slaine. This happened in July, in the yeir of our redemption forsaide. Thair was also tain in this skirmisch, the lordis Bowis and his brother, Sir Johne Widderingtoun, and sundrie guid

men of the Pearces of Northumberland : for all the best men war taine, and the most pairt of thame that war slaine war commounes. Thir newis past haistlie to the king of Scotland, who rejoyced greattumlie when he heard of the skirmisch betuixt the Scottismen and the Inglismen : thinking that thairefter he would have the more quyetnes vpoun the borderis in respect of his victorie. Bot he was deceived in his opinion ; for how soone the king of Ingland hard tell of thir novellis, he awowed solemnedlie to be revengit thairof, and for that effect send ane herald in Scotland and gave vp trewis with the king of Scotland, his sister sone ; declairand to him be his heraldis, if he would not keip his promise to him, he sould tak such ordour with him as he tuik with his father befor : for he had yitt that same wand to ding him, that dang his father ; that is to say, the duik of Norfolk leivand, that strak the field of Floudon, who slew his father, with many of the nobles of Scotland.

The king of Scotland thought thir vncouth and sharp wordis from his vnclie the king of Ingland, that he sould boast him so with the duik of Norfolk, who was his great enemie, and had done no lese to him nor he spak. For the quhilk caus, he haistilie directed his am-

bassadoures to Ingland, to witt the bischop of Aberdeine, and the laird of Dairsie, who was Mr Housold to the kingis majestie ; thir tuo ambassadoures war sent with all diligence with sick commissioun as the counsall of Scotland could devyse, to stay king Harie's furie for the tyme, quho cam neir Scotland at that tyme, bot all for nought. Thir ambassadoures cam in Ingland to king Harie : they gatt no presence of the king : but he held thame thair ane long tyme, till he had prepared ane armie to cum in Scotland with the duik of Norfolk, to the number of fyftie thousand men, of the waill of all Ingland : giveand the duik of Norfolk ane chairge to pas in Scotland with the forsaid number, and caus the king of Scotland keip his promeis, or elis give him battell. The king of Scotland heiring of thir newis, and getting no answeir from his ambassadoures, incontinent gart mak proclamatiounes through all Scotland, to all manner of men betuixt sixtie and saxteine, to compeir at Edinburgh ypoun the Borrowmuire thair of, with fourtie dayes victuall, to pas with the king quhair he pleased, in defence of the realme, contrair the Inglismen quho war cuming to invaid thame. So the king assemblet at Phala with his hail lordis, barrones, and subjectis, and all manner of man betuixt sixtie and sixteine : quho war

numbered be officeris and heraldis, and found to the number of fyftie thousand men, by thame that war in the vanguard with the earle of Huntlie, quhilkis war ten thousand men of bordereris; so the wholl number of the Scottis armie arose to the number of thrie-scoir thousand men, quhairof thair was twentie thousand in stand harnes, and twentie thousand in jack and spear, and twentie thousand with bowis and haberschones, and two handit swordis. Thair was of artaillie and cannoneis, six great culveringis, and six battartis, six double falcones, and threttie double peices, and fourtie cartis with ponder and vther kynd of ordinance in warre, quhill became ane prince to have againes his enemies. And the second day efter they cam to Phala, and marched forwardis towardis Lawder, to ane place callit the Barley Haugh, neir to the kirk of Lather; and thair cam word from the earle of Huntlie, the kingis lieftenant, that the duik of Norfolk was cuming over Tweid, and had send ane message to him, desiring battell of the king, or els to keip his promeis to the king of England. Off thir wordis the king was commoved, and caused the lordis assemble thamselffis to ane counsall at Lather kirk, and the king shew his mynd to tuo of his lordis: for he cam not himself to

that convention, but directed his mynd and petition as after followis. That is, he desired his lordis, that he might be revengit vpoun the duik of Norfolk, his enemie, quho cam in Scotland to invaid him at the king of Inglaundis command, with his wholl puissance. Vpoun this, the lordis took thame to advyce, and to give the king an answeir thairvpoun. Then the lordis being at the counsall, they fell in disputation amongst thaimselfis, sayand they could not with thair honouris and saiff consciences pas guidlie fordward at that tyme, becaus of the band that was betuixt the king of Scotland and the king of England, quhilk bond and promiseis was sealed with the gritt seal of Scotland, and subscrivit with thair handis. But yitt they promised to the kingis grace, if the duik of Norfolk cam forward to invaid thame, they would defend thair realme, bot they would not pas in England at that tyme. This answeir was sent to the king, presentit be the earle of Glencairne, quhairwith he was not content. Bot in this meantyme, ane wach cam to the king and schew him, that the duik of Norfolk was back againe over the watter of Tweid, and was camped vpoun Inglisch ground. When the king heard that, he was verrie desirous to have followed

him in Ingland, and fight with him. Bot the lordis on nowayes would consent thairinto, nor that the king should cum ony fardder at that tyme, in respect that the duik of Norfolk had nather brunt nor slaine, nor done no kynd of evill on Scottis ground at that tyme. They said they had the lese will to follow him on Inglis ground.

Nevertheles, the kingis mynd was verrie ardent on battell on Inglis ground, quhilkis when the lordis perceaved, they passed againe to the counsall, and concludit, that they would not follow the duik of Norfolk at that tyme for the kingis pleasour, becaus, they said, that it was not groundit vpoun no guid caus nor reasone, and that he was ane better preistis king, nor he was thaires; and vsed more of priestis counsall nor of thaires. Thairfoir, they had the les will to fight with him: and said it war mair meritoriouslie done to hang all sick as gave the king counsall to break his promeis to the king of Ingland, quhairof they perceaved great inconvenientis to befall. Quhen they had thus concludit, and the king being advertised thairof, the king depairted with his familiar servantis to Edinburgh: bot the armie and counsall remained still at Lather, quhyll on the morne that they gott word

that the duik of Norfolk was back againe to England. And immediatlie the lordis of Scotland pulled vp thair pavilliones and cam homwardis, quhairwith the king was displeased with his lordis becaus they would not pas in England and fight the duik of Norfolk, and said to thame, he should aither gare thame fight or flie, or els Scotland sould not keip him and thame both: and in his rage and furie gart mak ane proclamatioun to all earles, lordes, barrones, gentlemen, and frieholderis, to be in readines within twentie four houres to follow the king quhair evir he pleased to pas. So on the morne the king passed to Peibles, and desired all the foresaidis persones to follow him and meitt him thair, to pas with him quhair he pleased, and thairefter he passed to Moffat, and then to the water of Esk, and send in his lordis and gentlemen in England, to burne and slay, waist and spoill the countrie, quhilk was sair againis the lordis willis, and would in no wayes tak the matter in hand, nor consent that the king sould pas in England at that time himself, to vse sick rigour and malice to his mother' brother, etc. But the king sieing they had no will to serve his appettit, he gart mak ane proclamatioun in the midis of his armie, to admit Oliver

Sinclair, on of his familiar servantis, to be his lieftennent to his armie, and caused heraldis to chaarge the saidis leigis to obey Oliver Sinclair, to pas with him quhairevir he pleased, as they would awaitt vpoun the king himselff. So the king depairted ane litle from the armie to Lochmabane, to remaine thair till he sould sie quhat successioun sould cum of his interpryse. Bot the lordis sieing the kingis wilfull misgovernance towardis his awin commonwiell, and that he had maid Oliver Sinclair, one of his awin servantis, lieftennent, quhilk office was evir accustomed to be givin to noblemen; the nobilitie consulted and concludit amongst thamselffis, that they would not fight vnder Oliver Sinclair's banner, for they knew him not for no lieftennent nor governour to thame, and concludit all, that they had rather be all taine and had to Ingland to king Harie, or they abod the king of Scotlandis furie exerced on thame, be the counsall of his priestis and courtiouris. For the preistis, as I have showin befor, abused the kingis grace so, that they patt greatt dissentioun betuixt him and his lordis, and gave him to vnderstand, that they war all heretickis, becaus the red the old and new testament in Inglis: and thairfoir, as they alledgit, war all worthie to be

brunt, and thair geir confiscatt to the kingis profite. Off this, the courtiouris war weill content, and mony of tham consentit thairto, becaus they war the bischopis pencionares; thinking, if sic thingis cam fordwardis, they would gett sum casualities. Qubairby the king was abused, and tint all the heartis of his nobilitie, to quhom he gave no credit, nor they hoped no guid in his hand, and thairfoir, they tint heartis, and had no will to raise fire in Ingland.

Bot the Inglismen sieing so gritt ane armie of Scottismen come so haistilie vpoun thame, to the number of fyftie thousand men, by bordereris, the Inglismen war agast when they saw thame so suddenlie in form of warre; for the number of the Inglismen was bot small. Yitt they conveyned thamselffis schortlie, for they war all bordereris, and could all ryd and prick weill, and held the Scottismen in playing, be thair pricking and skirmishing, till the night cam doun on thame, and they war in sick strait ground, and knew not the passages, so they could not reteir in so guid ordour as they sould have done, and they had no viveris, nather hors meitt nor manes meitt, to tarrie that night, nor guid guydis to gyd thame throw the passages. But they retired vncun-

nandlie to ane place called the Staige Myre, quhair mony of thair hors laired, and syne they cam to the watter of Esk, quhair the sea was in, and the watter four fathome deip quhair the host cam over. Yitt in all thir straittis they gott no skaith of Inglismen, quhill at the last, they cam to ane place callit the Solane Mose, quhairthrow nather horse nor man might pas, so that they laired all thair horssis, and mischeived thame, and than it was force to thame to tak thair fute. Bot when the Inglismen perceaved the Scottismen at this straitt, they cryed with sick hideous shouttis and cryes, that they so effeired the Scottis that they brak and fled, and many of thame war takin be the Inglismen and had in Ingland. So the hoast was disperst, and the night grew mirk vpoun thame that they knew not weill quhair they war. Throw this vnhappie misgovernance many of the Scottis war takin and had in Ingland, and especiallie gritt lordis and barrones of Scotland war had to Londoun to king Harie, and was richt honorablie intertained be him. Bot thair was bot ane small number slaine in the field. To witt, thair was slaine of the wholl, on both sydis, bot twentie four, quhair of was nyne Scottismen and fyfteine Inglismen.

Quhen thir novellis cam to the king of Scotland quhair he was for the tyme, how his lordis war taine, and had in England, and his armie defaitt, he grew vondrous dollorous and pensive, sieing no guid succes to chance him over his enemies. Than he begouth to remord his conscience, and thought his misgovernance towardis God had the wytt thair of, and was the principall caus of his misfortune: calling to mynd how he had brokin his promise to his vncle the king of England, and had tint the heartis of his nobles throw evill counsall and fals flatterie of his bishopsis, and these privatt counsallouris, and his courtioures, not regarding his wyse lordis counsallis. He knew that this was the caus of his misgovernance, and shamfull chance, quhilk he had sustained at that jorney; quhairthrow he tuik sick melancholie and displeasour, that no comfort nor consolatioun in no wayes, by no manes witt, might appease his present grieff, nor bring him to rest. He past to Edinburgh, and thair remained aught dayes with great dollour and lamentatioun for the tinsell of his leidges, and shame to himself, quhilk was, be misfortoun and evill government, brought to shame and dishonour: quhilk pat the kingis grace in dispair that he could nevir recover

his honour againe. This being done, the king past out of Hallirudhouse to Falkland, and thair became so heavie and dollorous, that he nather eat nor drank that had guid digestioun, and so became so vehement seik that no man had hope of his lyff. Then he sent for certane of his lordis, both spirituall and temporall, to have thair counsell. But or they cam he was verrie neir strangled to the death be extreme melancholie. Be this the post cam out of Linlithgow schowing the king guid tydingis that the queine was delyverit. The king inquyred whidder it was a man or woman. The messinger said it was ane fair dochter. The king answeired and said, "Fairweill, it cam with ane las and it will pas with ane las:" and so he commendit himselff to the Almightye God, and spak litle from thenforth, bot turned his back to his lordis and his face to the wall.

Att this tyme Sir David Beatoun, cardinall of Scotland, standing in presence of the king; sieing him begine to faill of his strenth and naturall speich, held ane throughe of paiper to his grace, and caused him to subscriye the samyne, quhairin the cardinall wreatt quhat he pleased, for his awin particular weill: thinkand to have had the auctoritie and pre-

heminnence in the governement of the countrie. Bot we may knaw heirby that the kingis legacie was verie schort; for in this meantyme he depairted. As I have showin' you, he turned him vpoun his back, and lookit and beheld all his lordis round about, and gave ane litle lauchter, syne kissed his hand, and gave it till all his lordis about him, and thairefter held vp his handis to God, and yeildit the spirit.

This noble prince, as I have showin' yow, depairted at Falkland, in his awin pallace, the twentie day of December; in the yeir of God 1542 yeires.

This noble prince, if he had vsed the counsall of his wyse and noble lordis, and keiped his bodie cleane from harlotrie, and the counsall of the papistis, bischopis, and courtioures, he had beine ane of the most noble princes that eyir rang in Scotland, or in any other Christiane kingdome; for he was full of policie and honestie in his beginning, and did many guid actis, sick as bigging of pallaces and castles, and in bringing great artaillie in Scotland, and all kynd of guid artificiares in this réalme, quhairthrow the same became verie civill and pollitick in his dayes, in respect of the former aige. But fra tyme he was

abused with papistis, and would not suffer the word of God to have frie passage, quhairthrow he ought to have beine instructed, first, in the fear of God, and nixt in the administratioun of justice. Bot he would nevir hear the samyne, becaus it teached sundrie to amendement of lyffe, and speciallie adultereris: and the king knawing himself to be one of these, he had the les will in the admonitioun of the contrair thairof. And be the contrair, fals flattring and idolatrous bischopis flattered him, and gave him to vnderstand that he might saiflie vse his bodie at his pleasour, sayand that they would stand guid for his soull. Throw the quhilk abussis he had the wors succes in his letter dayes in all his interpryss, and speciallie in his successioun and ofspring, quhilk God had blissed him with and bestowed vpoun him, they war takin from him, and depairted in thair infancie. The causs of the quhilkis curss may be weill ascryved to his misbehaviour, both towardis God and his subjectis, proceeding from the counsall of godles bischopis, and greidie courtiours, quhyll at lenth, when this noble prince perceaved and fand his conscience vakned, he tuik sick high displeasour and high melancholie, that it strangled him to the death. Sua we will lett

him rest with God and his angellis, desiring all princes, governouris, and magistratis, whom God hath placed in auctoritie and high places, first to begine at God, and leid thair lives according to his lawis, and to vse the counsall of his wyse and honest lordis and counsallouris, and to dispyse all flattring idolateris, who gave this noble prince to vnderstand, in respect of worldlie auctoritie and preheminence vpoun earth, thairfoir he might vse his bodie and himself as he list.

HEIRE BEGINES THE CRONICLES AND HISTORIE
OF MARIE, QUEINE OF SCOTLAND, AND QUHAT
HAPPENED IN HIR TYME.

IN the yeire of our lord ane thousand, fyve
hundreth, fourtie and thrie yeires, in the
moneth of Januarie, manie of our lordis and
barrones of Scotland war lying captive at Lon-
don for the tyme, being takin at Sollene Mos,
who war weill intertained be king Harie, and
frielie delyvered at thair awin pleasour, but
when they war all at thair awin mirrines,
word cam to the king of Ingland that the king
of Scotland was depairted, quhilk, quhen the
king of Ingland hard, he sighed sair, saying,
“ Voe is me, for I will nevir have any king in
Scotland so sib to me againe, nor on quhom I
favoured so weill, and desired so effectuouslie
to have had his conference. But alace, evill
and wicked counsall wold not latt him speak
with me, quhilk would have beine both to his
joy, comfort, and myne. Bot I traist the Al-

mightie God sall work all for the best, as he does evir to all sick as beleives in him." Quhen the king of Ingland had maid ane end of thir lamentatiounes, he inquyred fardder tyddingis of the messinger, who shew to him that the queine of Scotland was delyverit of ane dochter, and no man successioun was left of his nevoy, quhairof the king of Ingland paused long, and conjectured the thing in his mynd, quhilk afterwardis cam to pas; that is, that the facilitie of the lordis of Scotland, and be the kirkmenis counsallis, and love that queine mother buire to France, that this counsall would rather consent to dispose this young queine in the handis of the French king, rather than his, albeit shoe was of his awin blood. Thairfoir this noble king sett himselff be all meanis possible to labour to bring the tuo realmes to peace, vnitie, and allyance, to the great profieitt of both the saidis realmes. And to that effect he rewairdit the lordis of Scotland verrie richlie that war captives in London, and delyvered thame frielie in Scotland, desiring nothng of thame bot that they wold be his freindis in tymes cuming, and that he might have thair guid vote in the counsall of Scotland when tyme occurred, for his affaires and commounweill of both the realmes. And thir

lordis promised no les faithfullie to him, bot that they would doe all they might to bring both the realmes to ane so fare as thei could, saifeand thair honoures and lawtie. So thir lordis depairted from king Harie, and cam in Scotland the twentie day of Januar, anno for-said.

Soone efter this, the cardinall, David Beaton, desired to have the authoritie and government of Scotland, thairfoir, he made moyane with queine mother, the earle of Ardgyle, the lord Seatoun, and sundrie other lordis of the realme, showing to thame the kingis commissioun and letter will, quhilk he had gotten from his grace for to be ruller and gouvèrnour of Scotland, and tutor to his dochter induring hir lese aige. Off this, queine mother was weill contentit, becaus, shoe knew him to favour France and all thair proceedings: for the quhilk caus, shoe consented to him, and so did monie of the lordis throw hir moyane. The earle of Arrane, heiring of thir proceedings, was not weill content thairof, becaus he had the just title of the government at that time: quhairfoir, he conveyned his kine and freindis and all noblmen that would doe for him at that tyme, showing thame the cardinallis intention; desiring thair counsaill

quhat was best to be done thairatent; and to frustrat and stope the cardinall of his intencion. So schortlie they concludit, and bad him stap forward to his awin richt, and not to be stopped with no priest to reive him of his autoritie, quhilk God had maid him to fall into his handis: and to that effect, for his fortification, he send in Ingland for the earle of Angus, and George his brother, who war verrie wyse and naturall men, and knew weill the qualities and conditiones of Scotland, for they had oftymes beine in trouble, quhairfoir they war the more able to have given him counsall in that instant trouble. This lord hearing this, send ane messinger incontinent for the earle of Angus, and George Douglas his brother, thinkand he would doe tham that pleasour to resaive thame thankfullie, quhilk would caus thame to be the more fervent in his defence, contrair the cardinall and his complices.

This message being directed to the earle of Angus, he was verrie glaid thairof, and addressed himself haistilie, and came in Scotland, efter he had remained in Ingland fyfteine yeires: who was heartilie ressaived be the earle of Arrane, thinking that, by his coming; he was the more stark againes his enemies nor

he was a befoir. But when thir novellis cam to the cardinallis knowledge and queine motheris, they war not content with the earle of Angus nor his brotheris coming, knawing that they would favour the king of Ingland in his affaires better than France. Thairfoir, the queine gart labour, and so did the earle of Arrane, to have ane conventioun of the lordis to sie quhat was best to be done for the governement of the realme of Scotland. The quhilk conventioun conveyned at Edinburgh, the tenth day of Februar, anno forsaide, with all the whole power and puissance on both sydes. That is to say, the earle of Arrane, his kine and freindis, and all the lordis that would taik his pairt. On the vther pairt, the cardinall, with the assistance of the queine, and all that would doe for thame. Thir haill lordis conveyned at Edinburgh the day forsaide. Thair they concluded and choised James Hamiltoun, earle of Arrane, to be protectour and governour of Scotland, becaus they knew him to have the just title and richt thairof. But the cardinall and his factioun appailld from thair electioun, and tuik instrumentis thairvpoun.

In this mean tyme, thair cam ane herauld out of Ingland, desiring ane conduct for ane

ambassadour to cum and talk with the governour for the weillfair of both the realmes; quhilk was granted incontinent to him, be advyse of the counsall. And also thair was ane herald sent in Ingland at the tyme with the king of Scotlandis ordour of the garter, quhilk he had receaved from the king of Ingland, and maid knyght thair of, as vse was, and also to delyver the same ordour againe, when evir the knyghtis depairted of the same ordour: to witt, ane abbot maid according to the ordour, with ane gairter of gold sett with precious stones, and all other ornamentis according to the ordour, was delyvered againe to king Harie with great reverence, who rejoiced meikle of the thankfull delyverance, and rewardit the herald richlie for his paines; and dispatched him againe in Scotland hastilie, and send efter him ane ambassadour callid Maister Saithler, quho was weill receaved in Scotland be the governour and his counsall, and remained in Scotland the space of thrie monethis: as the vse of the ambassadeures is in all countries to remaine als long as they have peace betweine the tuo realmes. And in the same tyme, the same ambassadour travelled verrie bussilie with the governour and lordis to have peace and marriage betuixt the

tua realmes, lykas his commissioun buire him from his master the king of Ingland, whose mynd was to have both the realmes to peace, vnitie, and friendschipe, that they sould not be separat in no manes dayes living. But the governour and his counsall concludit haistilie, and consented both to the peace and marriage, and contracted the same most ampie vnder interchanging the great seall of Ingland for securitie of both the realmes, and Scotland in lyk maner. This being done, the ambassadour sent his ambassade to king Harie, his maister, showing to him of his success and of his laboures, and remained himself in Scotland; and was weill intertained be the governour and his counsall, etc. Bot when the cardinall and the rest of their factioun, and the kirkmen, hearing of the contract of peace and marriage betuixt Ingland and Scotland for the veilfair of both the realmes, they ware in no wayes content thairwith, bot raged in furie, as if they had beine by thair myndis: and would nevir consent to this honorable contract without the king of France had beine content thairwith; and caused the queine and all that would doe for hir in Scotland to labour contrair the same; and rested nevir till the same was dissolved in plaine parliament, quhairof

the Inglis ambassadour was verrie evill content: and so was the king of Ingland, who awowed to God solemnedlie, that he sould be revengit of the same.

In this mean tyme, the kingis ambassadour of Ingland was evill intreated be the bischopis, quho scorned and mocked him, and be the toun of Edinburgh also, quhom king Harie was soone avengit vpoun, for he sent ane armie haistilie in Scotland be sea, quho landed in Wast Leith, in ane pairt callit Grantoun Grange, the third day of Maij anno forsaid, to the number of fourtie thousand men of warre, and thairefter passed to Leith, and remained thair certane dayes, and thairefter passed vp to Edinburgh, and was avengit vpoun it as king Harie had commandit: that is to say, they brunt the toun with all the kirkis thair of: and speciallie, the kingis pallace of Hollirudhous, and schott at the castle, bot it was so strong, they could not win it, and certane of the castle men isched out and skirmished thame from the said castle, and wan sum of thair artaillie, and sum they left behind thame brokin, quhilk remaines yitt in Scotland. This being done, they sieing they could be no better of the said castle, they passed from it to the castle of Craigmillar, and brunt

and distroyed it, with sundrie vtheris tounes and villages neir adjacent thairabout, and syne past to Leith againe, and remained thair certane dayes, quhill thair schipes war readie, and syne brunt the toun at thair way coming; and this Edinburgh and Leith gott for dishonouring the king of Inglandis ambassadour.

Soone efter this, the lordis conveined to ane counsall, quhair they consulted and considerit, that the cardinall was the wytt of the peace breaking betuixt Scotland and Ingland, quhairthrow cam meikle hirschip and slaughter to both the realmes, and in speciall to Scotland. Quhairfoir, the said lordis concludit to put the said cardinall in captivitie, that he sould not abuse thame any more. And when he was sittand among the lordis, they gart officeris lay handis on him, and put him in ane quyet chamber, quhair he remained ane whyll to dantoun his proud heart: bot nevirthales, he could nevir consider his dewtie towardis God, nor the commoun weill of the countrie. But heirefter, they delyvered him to my lord Seatoun, quho tuik giftis of gold from him to escape out of captivitie: quhilk he did pairtlie for the giftis of gold and silver, and pairtlie for the queines pleasour. And so this wicked and vngodlie cardinall, how soone he was frie of his waired, he begouth to raige lyk ane lyon

that war loused of his bandis: nor no summondis nor admonitioun might caus him to obey the authoritie. Bot for evill will that he buire to the governour, he sent to France with ane supplicatioun of the queines to bring home the earle of Lennox for his support againes the governour, promising to him to mak him governour of Scotland, and husband to the queine. With thir heightis and fair promisees made to this lustie young lord, caused him to leive the realme of France, quhair he was weill intertained and esteimed be the king thair of, and gart him cum in Scotland in this hope, as I have schowin yow.

In this meane tyme, this wicked cardinall having great substance of gold and silver, iustysed the earle of Ardgyle and manie other lordis to ryse and rebell againes the governour, and tak his pairt with the number of ten thousand men, quhair thair was queine mother and hir dochter, the princes, giving thame to vnderstand, that the governoures purpose was to pas to Lithgow, and tak the young queine and put hir in the king of Inglandis handis, and to keip the band that was maid befor be Ingland. But the governour, knowing nothing of this matter and treasonable rebelloun, that the cardinall had vrought againes him, assemblit certane lordis that would tak

his pairt att Edinburgh, and thair purposed to pas to Linlithgow, and to give thame battell: and to tak the young queine out of hir palace, and to put hir in his awin keiping in quhat strength he pleased. Bot to this, the lordis would not consent on no wayes, nather that shoe sould cum in the governouris handis, becaus he was neirest any to hir; bot thair was certane men chosin to pas betuixt the tuo armies to treat guid wayes, etc. And that the young queine should be takin and put in equal handis, to witt the lord Lindsay, the lord Erskine, the lord Livingston, and the lord Grahame. Thir four should pas to Linlithgow, and ressaive the young queine and hir mother, and have thame both to Stirling, and thair to keip the young princes as they would answeir to God, and the commoun weill of the countrie, and as they would vnderly the paine of forfaltrie both of thame and of thair posteritie, that they sould observe and keip the castle, and the young queine thairin, quhill the counsall was fardder adwyssed. Vpoun thir conditiones, the governour and the cardinall appoyntted and skailled both thair armies, and met in Linlithgow, and was finallie agreit be supplicatioun of queine mother; syne on the morne past to Stirling, with this young queine, accompanied

with thir four lordis, to whom shoe was given in keiping, and remained with her.

The haill lordis of Scotland conveyned at Stirling the tuentie day of August, anno for-said, and thair crouned the young queine with great solemnitie, plays and pharses, etc.

At this tyme the earle of Lennox cam out of France, and cam to the governour at Holli-rudhouse, and presented himselff befor his grace. The governour resseaved him verrie thankfullie; howbeit he was not content of his cuming, nor yitt of thame that send for him.. Bot this young earle past haistilie to Linlithgow, with his kine and freindis, quhilk mett him to accompanie him to present the queine's grace. In this meane tyme he mett the cardinall, quho ressaived him thankfullie, and gave him monie fair flattering wordis, quhilk he nevir keipit ane word to him. Als soone as the earle of Lennox knew that the governour and cardinall war aggried togidder and appoyntted vpoun all things, he was not content thair of, knawing himselff to be deceaved be the cardinall. Thairfoir he repented that he cam out of France so haistilie at the cardinall's request, seing he keipit not a word of his promeis to him, for he promised to mak him protectour of Scotland, and put the wholl authoritie in his handis, ay and quhyll the queine

war of lauchfull aige, and faillyeing of hir that he should be king of Scotland, showing him that faillyeing the queinis grace he had most richt thairto. Bot quhen the cardinal saw the governour so obedient to him in all his desires, and in speciall in delyvering the young queine at his requeist to the lordis forsaide, in this caice he rewed that he had maid the earle of Lennox to beleive so, and would faine have had the matter collouged if he could, and for that effect he caused queine mother intertaine him verrie tenderlie, and put him in hoip of marriage, quhairby shoe might pacify the earle of Lennox be hir love, that thairby he might be the better content of the cardinall in tymes cuming. Notwithstanding, the earl of Bothwell was at this tyme ane lustie young gentleman, and had ane guid presence in the sight of vomen, quhairby he intendit to have the queine in marriage, as the earle of Lennox did; and daylie thir tuo young lordis pursued the court and queine with great bravitie and coastlie cloathing, contending quho should be most galliyart in thair abuilyementis, renewing the same everrie day, and in vseing all kynd of playes and exercise on horss and foott, that became noblmen to doe; and speciallie quho might behave thamselffis best in the queines sight, in dancing, louping, or any

other games, etc. But the earle of Lennox warred the earle of Bothwall at sundrie games, for he was brought vp in the warres of France, quhilk learned him the feattis of armes, and to exercise his pith to the vttermost. For the earle of Lennox was ane strong man, of personage weill proportioned in all his memberis, with lustie and manlie visage, and vent verrie strecht vp in his passage: quhairfoir he appeired verrie pleasant in the sight of gentlwomen. As for the earle of Bothwell he was fair and quhitlie, sumthing hinging shouldered, and went sumthing fordward, with ane gentle and humane countenance.

Thir tuo gentlmen daylie frequenting the court, and exercising thamselffis in this forme, everie on of thame beleived to obtaine his purpose at the queines hand; bot shoe did nothing bot gave thame fair wordis, that they might serve hir, quhyll shoe saw hir tyme expedient to give thame an answer. But at the last, thir tuo lordis being ane great spaice at court, quhilk was great coast to thamselffis, kin, and freindis, evir in reddines to doe the queine service, quhill at the last, the earle Bothwell inlaiked expenssis and passed home, quhill he saw fardder about him. Bot the earle of Lennox remained still at court, desiring the queine and cardinall to keip thair pro-

meis vnto him, or els to put him frielie in France againe, and in the meantyme to recompence him for his expenssis, that he had maid cuming in Scotland at thair desir. Bot of this desir the queine and cardinall was no wayes content.

In this meantyme Captain James Stewart of Cardonock cam out of France from the king, quho hard tell that the earle of Lennox was frustrat of his purpose in Scotland, for laik of money ; thairfoir he sent the said Sir James in Scotland, with threttie thousand crounes to the earle of Lennox, to furth sett his honour : for the queine and cardinall had no will that he should have past aff off Scotland, bot to hold him as ane wand abone the governouris head : for this effect they gave the earle fair defferand answeiris, promiseand to him that all sould be weill at his pleasour. Bot when the earle perseaved that thair promiseissis was evir delayand, and tuik no effect, he begouth to grow angrie, and promised that he should have amendis of the queine and the cardinall, albeit that he should leive Scotland thairfoir, becaus they had brokin promiseis to him. So within short quhill he past home to his awin countrie of Glasgow and Dumbarton, and thair raised his haill kin and freindis, and all that would do for him ; and in speciall he solisted

the earle of Angus, the earle of Glencairne, and the haill Cunnynghames, the laird of Tul-libardin, with the wholl Murrayes, and name of Stewart that doe for him, in the south-land, to the number of tuelff thousand men, and cam pertlie fordwardis, towardis Edinburghe, quhair the governour and the cardinall was. Bot they heiring tell of the earle of Lennox cuming, and of the great furie that he was in againes thame, and in speciall againes the cardinall, quho knew weill that the earl of Lennox was awaitting occasioun to be revengit vpoun him, and that he was ane guid man of warre, and had monie gentlemen to his wasselis, kine, and freindis that would weill abyd with him, quhairfoir they would not consent to give battell, nor fight with him at that tyme, becaus they knew him to be more pairtie nor they might be haistilie. Bot the earle of Lennox past manfullie to the feildis, sieing this, betuixt Leith and Edinburgh, in arrayed battell, and thair abod the governour and cardinall, provockand thame to fight with him or els to keip thair promise; and this he did the space of thrie or four dayes; quhill at the last the governour and cardinall send certane wyse men to the earle of Angus, desiring him effectuouslie to skail his armie, and he should have all his desires as he pleased, with ma-

wie vther fair heightes, maid be thame to the earle of Angus, quhill at the last, the said earle was drawin to thair effect, and counsalled the earle of Lennox to skaill his armie, quhairof the said earle was not content. So he schortlie passed hame to his awin countrie, with his kine and freindis, and thair to remaine quhill he saw fardder in the matter.

In this meantyme thair cam gold out of France to the queine and cardinall, to the number of threttie thousand crounes. This money, as was said, cam to the earle of Lennox, and was to be disposed be the queines adwyse and the cardinallis; quhilk money landit at Dumbarton, quhair the earle of Lennox happined to be for the tyme. He sieing this money come in his gaitt, knowing weill it was the queines and the cardinallis and passed to thame, and thought he should be revengit vpoun the expenssis quhilk the king and the cardinall had caused him to mak in his cuming in Scotland, to that effect and purpose, promissing to him that thing that they would not performe, quhairfoir he tulk the said money be the way, and applyed it to his awin vse; that is to say, he garnished and furnisched the castle of Glasgow, with men and munitioun, syne past himselff to Dumbarton to remain thair a quhill.

But in this meantyme word cam to the queine, and the cardinall, that all thair money was takin be the earle of Lennox, and his servandis, quhairwith they war highlie displeased, and incontinent send for the governour to cum to Stirling to the queine and the cardinall, quhair they war for the tyme, and thair to tak consultatioun quhat was best to be done, tuiching the affaires forsaides. Bot they schortlie concludit in thair counsell to raise the bodie of the realme, and to pas forward to Glasgow, to seidge the castle thair of, thinking to have gottin the earle of Lennox thairin, and be revengit on him as they thought guid. To this effect thei maid proclamatiounes in Fyffe, Angus, Stratlierne, Lothian, Stirlingschire, with the haill wastland of Scotland, to meitt the governour, the day appoynted of the proclamatioun, to pas with him to Glasgow, to seidge the castle thair of, in manner forsaid. To that effect, they brought cannonees out of the castle of Edinburgh, with vther small artaillie and vther kynd of ordinance conforme thairto, and past furth of Stirling to the governour and cardinall, with the rest of the nobilitie, to the number of twelff thousand men, quhilkis cam to Glasgow the tuentie aucht day of March 1544 yeires, and thair laid ane seidge to the castle,

thinkand to have win it and gottin the earle of Lennox thairin. Bot he was not thair. Yitt they continewed still at the seidge the space of ten dayes, quhill meikle of thair pouder and bulletis war spendit; and sieing they cam no speid of winning the said castle by force, they kest all meanis how they might have the same be moyane and fair promiseis, and to that effect, send messingeris to the castle to the captanes thairof, quhilkis war tuo brethreine of the Stewartis, Johne Stewart, and Williame his brother, quho war sones to the abbot of Dryburgh, promiseing to thame gritt giftis of gold and silver, and all thair gentlmen and servandis that war with thame, perteaning vnto thame in the said castle, sua they would render the same to the governour and cardinall, to be keipit and vsit at thair pleasour. Thir gentlmen heiring of thir offeris, and knowing of no releiff to cum to thame, was heartilie content, and gave over the said castle to the governour and cardinall, believand to have all promiseis keipit vnto thame, quhilkis war maid to thame befor the overgiveing of the said castle. But nevirtheles thair was nothing keipit vnto thame quhilk was promised vnto thame, bot immediatlíe war shamfullie hangit efter they war tain out of the said castle, and none escaped of thame that war

thairin, but the tuo brether of the Stewartis; quhilk was done be the cardinall without the governouris knowledge: quhilkis war takin and put in prisone induring the governouris will; and thairefter, the said earle was summondit and put to the horne for not compeirance, and efterward was forfait and banished, as is weill knowin.

The earle sieing the rigorous dealling with him be the governour and cardinall, thinking in his mynd that thair was no remaining for him in Scotland, he soone efter took his leive of his friendis, and passed in England, quhair he was honorable receaved and intertained be king Harie, quho gave him in marriage Margaret Douglas, who was dochter to the earle of Angus, quho bure efterwardis to the said earle of Lennox, fair succession, as we sall show heirefter. Bot we will leive him weill intertained in England, and return to our historie, that is,

The governour and cardinall soone heirefter sett ane parliament, and forfait the said earle and all his vassellis that held land of him, quhairby the governour obtained great sowmes of money for thair compositiones, albeit, he tint thair heartis for extreme dealling with thame.

In this meane tyme the borderes war all

brokin, both south, east, and wast, and gritt hirschip and slauchter maid be the Inglismen and Scottismen, quhilkis war verrie lamentable to sie, and all be wilfulnes of the cardinall, who would have no peace keipit with Ingland without the king of France had beine content thairwith, quhilk was verrie fare againes the commoun weill of Scotland. Nottheles this continewed all sommer quhill the winter cam on, that the Inglismen had waisted all Mers and Tiviotdaill, and had takin monie of the strenthis thair of, and maid great slauchter vpoun the Hoomes, quhilkis vnlawfull warreswar exerceed by Sir Ralph Ivers and Sir Bernard Lattoun, captane and leiftennent to the king of Ingland for the tyme, quho, be thair frequent incursiones and burneing and slaying, they effeired the Scottis so that they war faine to tak on the rid croce and sweir thaimselfis the king of Inglandis men, and subjectis to his grace, quhilk was great displeasour to the lordis of Scotland, quho at that tyme had no credence in court, nor durst not cum thairto, to drese thair bussines, for fear of the cardinall, quho misguydit the governour so; that the lordis durst not cum to give thair weill adwysed counsall for the weelfare of the realme, vnles they had the governouris and cardinallis assurance that they should not be troubled,

quhilkis wer verrie vnpleasant to all trew Scottismen, and verrie pleasant to Inglismen; for they sieing this divisioun among the nobilitie of Scotland, they steired thair tyme. So at this tyme they tuik the abbey of Coldinghame, and laid all waist to the castle of Dumbar.

This newis cam to the governour and cardinall, quhair of they war not content, and gart mak proclamatiounes haistilie, to all earles, lordis, barrones, frieholderis, and gentlmen, to be in readines, with aught dayes victualles, to awaitt vpoun the governour, and to pas with him quhairevir he pleased. So the governour first past to Coldinghame with twelff thousand men, of the quhilkis war monie nobles of the realme, sick as the earle of Angus, the earle Bothwall; the lordis of Erskin, Ruthven, Drummond, and Gray, with monie other nobles. Bot it was in winter, and the weather was extreame cold, and when they cam to Coldinghame, to the abbey, quhilk was keipit be the Inglismen, they laid to thair artaillie and seidgit it, and stood all the first night on thair feitt in arrayed battell, bidding the Inglismen to have givin thame battell, and in the meantyme shott at the house with thair cannonees, and other small artaillie, till the breaking of the day; and when they saw that they cam no speid at the hous, and being informed that the

Inglistmen was coming with ane great armie to reskew the same, [quhairfoir the-gouvernour had no will to tarie, for he was in suspitioun with mony of the lordis and barrones that wes in his company, that they suld have put him in the Inglistmenes handis, thairfoir he tuik post and fled to Dumbar, and left the queinis artaillie in danger, behind him, of the Inglistmen. Some gave counsall to brake the cannoun or the Inglistmen gat hir, some said they wold pas away and leave hir; bott the earle of Angus and his brother said, "God forbid that we aither brak the queinis canown, or leave hir behind us for feir of the Inglistmen: I had rather fecht to dead in defence thair of, and I awow to God, I sall either sie hir frie in the castell of Edinburgh, or elis die thairfoir." With this he caused his haille kin and freindis to licht on fute, and go besyd the artaillie in arrayed battell, and left it nocht quhill he pat it frie to Dumbar. The Inglistmen wer comeing fast forward to haue fochtin with the Scotismen at thair returneing, bot fra tyme they saw the earle of Angus vpon fute, in arrayed battell, and reteir so in ordour, they had no will to mell with him, because they knew him to be ane old man of weir. Be this the earle of An-

gus conquered to himself great honour in bringing hame of the artaillie. Bot fra tyme the Inglismen hard of the governouris haistie departure, and the maner thair of, they became werie proud, and thocht no les than to conques all the southwast pairtis of Scotland, evin to Edinburgh.]

Soone efter this Sir Ralph Iveres and Sir Bernot Lattoun passed to London to king Harie, to be revairdit of him for thair guid service in conquering monie landis of Scotland, quhilk they gave the king to vnderstand that they had done, and had conquiest all fra Forth south, and had subdued the same; sick as Mers and Tividail, and Lawderdail; and had caused all the inhabitantis of these boundis to tak on the rid croce, and to becum sworne subjectis to king Harie, and to pay him thair maillis and dewties, evin as they had done to the king of Scotland of befoir. Thairfoir thir captanes desired their rewaird of king Harie for thair laboures, quhairat he was greattumlie rejoyced, and promised to rewaird thame honestlie. Quhairfoir the king gart call the duik of Norfolk to be adwysed with him quhat reward should be givin to thir men quho had conquiest so manie Scottismenis landis. The duik of Norfolk answeired haistilie, " Sir, yea

sall be my adwyse give thame all the Scottis landis quhilkis they say they have conquised, quhilk if they bruik it, I think thame weill worth the same." The king said, " My lord I think it too much; for indead it hath cost me threttie thousand pund Sterling." The duik answeired, " Nevirtheles, Sir, yea sall be my advyce give thame no les nor thair awin conquests, quhilk they say is so great; that the countrie may know your liberalitie towardis manlie men and guid warrioures: and it wilbe ane occasioun to thame to be the more fervent in keeping of the same, quhilk is your enemies landis, and quhair they say they have conquest Mers and Tividail, quhilkis ar verrie plentious countries of cornes and bestiall, and many manlie men dwelling thairin. Quhairfor, Sir, yea sall mak thir tuo championes lordis of thir tuo schirresdomes and and tak thame holdin of your grace; and they to caus the countrie men hold of thame." Off this persuasioun the king was heartilie weill content to give thir landis to the forsaidis tuo championes, and caus thame mak thair chartoures and evidentis conform to the same; and adjoyned his great seall for confirmatioun thair of, and bad thame pas in Scotland, and tak sensing vpoun his expensis, and he should furnisch thame thrie thousand men of warre,

for yeir and day vpoun his expensis, forby bordereris that would tak thair pairtis.

Thir captanes war glaid of the kingis benevolence towardis thame that he had givin thame sick lordschipis and sick men of warre to defend thame. Quhairfor they kest thame haistilie to Scotland to tak seasing, and cam to Jedward the aucht day of March, anno for-said: and war in companie fyve thousand men, to witt, thrie thousand that cam with the captanes, and tua thousand bordereris, that war purposed hallilie to tak thair seasing of Mers and Tividaill, and thairefter to pas to Hadingtoun, and syne to Edinburgh, if thei war not stopped.

Quhen thir newis cam to the governour and lordis of Scotland, they war discontent thair-with, and in speciall the earle of Angus, and the lord Home, quho had most pairt of thair landis and rentis, and leivingis, in the saidis countries. The earle of Angus said in a great raige, "Albeit the king of Ingland would cum himself in proper persone, he should not without stryff gett a seasing of these landis, quhilkis my father and forbeares have conquest and defendit thir monie yeires by-gane; and we war evinmore wont to doe the Inglisten tuo evill turnes for one." So the earle of Angus cam haistilie to Edinburgh, to

the governour, shewing him, if he leathed still at home, vsing the counsall of the preistis and cardinall, he would tyne all Scotland, or els be chased out of it, or els be tributter to the king of Ingland; "yitt though yea and all the lordis of Scotland ly by, God willing, I sall defend the same, quhilk my forbearis hes conquiest, and mantained with the blood of their bodies, or els sall die in defence thair of, and I awow to God, or they tak seasingis in my landis; I sall beir southfast witnessing to thair instrument, and sall prepair sharper penes and rider ink for the same nor they believed to find." To this answeired the governour, quhat is your will that I doe thairintill, for I would that Scotland war holdin at its accustomed libertie and friedome. At this tyme I have few to pas with me to resist the Inglismen; and when they ar all gathered far fewer than I can lippin to. The earle of Angus answeired, "My lord, yea have the wyte of that yourself, that vses not the counsall of the nobilitie of Scotland, quho wold be partakeris of all thingis, that they concludit thaimselfis. Bot yea ar altogidder rulled be the cardinall and kirkmen, quho hes beine the occasioun of bringing meikle trouble to Scotland, and was nevir fund present at the asputting thair of; for if yea would be counsalled be the nobilitie,

yea might doe als guid ane turne as if yea war native prince : and for myselff I salbe befoir in all adventouris for defence of the countrie and commounweill; for I had rather die with honour in defence of myne heritage, quhilk I conqueist nevir, nor live and tyne it sleuthfully in my time." Quhen the earle of Angus had endit, the governour said, " My lord, I wold pas forword if I had any folkis with vs to defend ws againes our old enemies." The earle of Angus answeired, " Gae forword with thame yea have, and caus mak proclamatiounes haistilie, to all earles, lordis, barrones, and gentlemen to follow in defence of the realme." Be thir wordis the earle of Angus persuaded the governour to ryd forwordis to Melros, and thair abod that night, quhill the rest of the nobilitie of the realme sould cum to thame, for they war few in number to ryd forwordis againes thair enemies, for the governour and the earle of Angus both, passed not thrie hundreth horss in companie, quhom they thought but ane small number, againes the Inglismen quho war cum that same night to Jedwart, to the number of fyve thousand men, to tak thair seasing, as I schaw befoir, of thair conqueised landis. But they war advertaised that the governour was cum that same night to Melros, and the earle of Angus

with ane small number quhilk caused thame to tak the greater hardiment, and cam forwardis that same night to Melros, quhair they thought to have gottin the governour at thair pleasour. Nevirtheles he was quyetlie advertised of thair cuming, and retired himself back abone the bridge of Melros, to ane place callit the Schiellis, quhair the earle of Angus counsalled the governour to remaine quhill the breaking of the day, and send ane trumpetter to Lawderdail to wairne all the gentlmen that war thairabout to cum to the Gallowscheillis, and meitt the governour thair. Be this the Inglismen cam to Melros, thinking to have gottin the governour thair, bot they missed him. Nevirtheles they remained all that night and spoiled the place, and syne when day cam returned to Jedwart. In this meantyme cam certane men of Fyffe, that had riddin all that night to the governour, and mett him at Gathensyd, fornent Melros, in guid ordour; to witt, Normond Leslie, maister of Rothes, with my lord Lindsayes servantis, kine and freindis; with sundrie vther barrones and gentlmen of Fyff, sick as the laird of Lochlevin, and vtheris of the wast pairt of Fyffe with him; quhilkis war in the hail to the number of tuelff scoir able gentlmen, with jack and spear. Off thair coming the governour was verrie rejoyced, and

tuik sick courage, that he past haistilie forward efter the Inglismen, quho war marching fast to Jedward, and tarried ane quhill at Libbertoune's croce, to sie quhat purpose the Scottis wold tak, and quhat they meined towardis thame. Bot the Scottis sieing this, they passed southwast from Melrose, round about Ancrum, lykas they wold have nothing to doe with the Inglismen. The Inglismen sieing this, they marched forwardis neir Jedward, till they cam to ane place callit the Sandie Calsey, and thair the passage was so straitt that they might not pas bot tuo men thick, quhilk spendit long time ere his armie cam thorow. In this meantyme the laird of Buccleugh cam posting to the governour, with ane small number, showing to him that the rest of his folkis war coming within six mylles, als fast as they might. Thairfoir he counsalled the governour and the earle of Angus, and all thair companie to light doun on thair foott, and send thair horss to ane hill head, back quhair the artaillie was, and draw thamselffis to ane laich place out of Inglismenis sightis, so the Inglismen wold beleive they war all turned and fled back, quhilk wold mak the Inglismen to break and be the more cairles, thinking they wold gett all thingis att thair pleasour. As the laird of Buccleugh said, so it was done. So

the Inglismen perceaved the Scottismen to ryd out of thair sightis, beleivand that they had tain the flight for fear of thame, sayes with ane gritt voyce and clamour, "fy latt ws mak haist, the Scottis are all fled, we sall have all as we list." With this they cam so fast back efter the Scottis, halflingis out of ordour, running quhill they war almost out of breath; to witt, the first battell that cam fordward to have chaised the Scottismen, was Sir Brime Latoun, and Sir Robert Bowis; and with thame in the midst of the battell, ane thousand speares, and on thair right wing fyve hundreth hagbutteris, and on the left wing fyve hunder bowis. Then followed efter thame Sir Ralph Iveris, and ane thousand hagbutteris, and ane thousand bowis, with all the bordereris and countrie men, both of Ingland and Scotland, who had severed with thame, and had tane on the rid croce, and sworne to tak thair pairtis. Thir men, I say, cam furiouslye fordward, thinkand the Scottismen had beine fled. But when they cam neir, and saw thame stand in guid ordour, they war not content with thame-selffis. Yitt they perceaved thame so few in number, they thought thame nothing to thame, for indeid the Scottismen passed not fyve hundreth men, quho war divydit in tuo companies, that is to say, tuo hunder speares, with the

earle of Angus, and thrie hundreth with my lord governour. Bot when Sir Brime Latoun and his hoste saw thame stand in this mannēr, he cam fariouslie fordward sounding thair trumpettis, with ane awfull courage to fight. Bot the Scottis, nothing effeired heir-of, cam pearthlie fordward, and encountered thame verrie cruellie. Be this the bowis, hagbuttis and artaillie schot on both sydis, both with ane terrible and hideous sound lykas the crack of thunder, quhilk was terrible to sie; it wold caus cowardis to be knawin. Bot nevertheless the battell joyned so cruellie, that they might not be seine for the stour and reik of the powder. Bot the Scottismen had waited thair tyme, quhill the sun was goeing wast about, and the day drawing down neir evin, and they had both the sun and the wind quhilk was ane gritt vantage to thame: for that blew the reik and smoak of poudre vpoun thair enemies of the greatt battell, that was beyond thame, that they might not sie quhat became of thame, nor yitt of the Scottis. And also the Scottismens speares war longer then the Inglismen's be fyve quarteris, or ane elne, quhilk, when they joyned with the Inglismen, they had thame all rivin down or evir the Inglismen's speares might touch thame; and so they rusched thame so rudlie to the

earth; that the noyse thair of was lyk the roaring of the sea. Bot at the last the Inglisch vanguard was so dung vpoun the great battell, with so great strokis and sair, that both the vanguard and great battell war schortlie discomfit and overthrowin, and the captanes thair of cruellie slaine, and manie other gentlemen of Ingland with thame, to the number of fyve hundreth gentlemen and men of warre, and fourscoir taine, and the remnant chased to Roxbruglie. Then the governour soundit his trumpettis, and returned his armie to thair standart againe, and syne fell on his knies and thanked God of the victorie that he had sent to him, by the expectatioun of man; for thair was nevir hard nor seine, in Scotland nor Ingland, so few in number to fight, win and give battell with so many and so great ane armie, to win the victorie without slaughter, for thair was nevir ane Scottisman slaine bot tuo, and not that in the battell, bot with the great ar-taillie slaine reckleslie. Bot thair was slaine of the Inglisemen at that tyme, Sir Brime Latoun, captane of Norhame, and Sir Ralph Iveris, quho was leiftennent to the king of Ingland, with manie vtheris gentlemen of Ingland, quhilkis I neid not to rehearse at this tyme, and also thair was monie gentlemen tain, to witt, Mr Howard, the queine's vncle; Mr

Huchesone, maister of York; the Herones and the Salbies, and also lord Bowis and Sir Johne Widdrington, with mony vther knightis of the borderis of Ingland, with mony vtheris, etc. But the haill number that war takin and slaine at this battell war sixteine hunder Inglis-men, and bot tuo Scottismen slaine, as I have schowin yow, quhilk was thought ane great marvell quhairevr it was knowin. This battell was strukin in Tividail, in Ankrum Moore, the yeir of God 1545 yeires.

This being done the governour called for the earle of Angus and tuik him in his armes, and praised his manheid and wisdome, and guid service done vnto the queine and to him; and also thanked George Douglas, his brother, saying he would remove all suspitioun that he suspected to tham anent the guid will that they buir to Ingland, they had manfullie showin thamselffis in the contrair. Fardder, he cryed to the laird of Buccleugh, and said he was the occasioun and instrument vnder God that they war victorious that day, be his guid counsall and singular manhood; also he thanked the earle of Rothes, the laird of Lochlevin, with all vther gentlmen, saying to thame that they had done the queine and him ane happie pleasour that day, and had conquered thamselffis perpetuall honoures. Quhen the governour

had thanked everie man according to thair demeritis, he gart mak proclamatiounes, chaiging all men to pas with him to Jedward, and no man to pas home vnder the paine of dead. So they lap vpoun hors, and soundit thair trumpettis, and cam ryding throw the field quhair the dead bodies lay, and at the last they cam quhair the tuo campiones lay, to witt, Sir Brime Lattoun and Sir Ralph Iueris, and the governour gave command to burie thame, or els delyver them to thair freindis. Thairefter he road that night to Jedward to his supper, and spendit the provisioun that was made to the Inglisch captanes, and maid mirrie quhill on the morne. Then he caused ane herald pas to the mercatt croce, and maid proclamatiounes, that all the landis of Scotland quhilkis king Harie or his captanes had conquered, was then redemed by the help of God and guid subjectis. Thairfoir he besought all sick as war compelled to king Harie, to tak on the rid croce as his subjectis, that they would renunce the samyne, and becum trew subjectis to the queine's grace and to him, in the old maner, and all byganes to be byganes, and have ane fair remissioun thairfoir.

Then sum counsalled the governour to ryd fordwardis to Wark and Norram, quhilk, for fear, was left waist be the Inglismen. Bot

because he was so few in number, and wanted artaillie, he returned home to Edinburgh, and thairefter to Stirling, with the queine, quho was rejoyced of his victorie.

Bot soone efter this the post cam to king Harie, and shew him how his men war defaitt in Scotland be the governour thair of, and all his landis, quhilkis his captanes had conquēist in Scotland, was redemed in on hour be manheid and cruell fighting, and that both his captanes, with monie other gentlemen, war cruellie slaine in oppin battell, and that monie of his knightis and barrones war tain prisoners in Scotland be the governour and the earle of Angus, and that thair was nevir a Scottisman slaine bot tuo. Att thir newis king Harie brunt lyk fire, and was boldened with ire, so that a long space no man durst speak to him. Yitt heirefter he send for the duik of Norfolk and vtheris his counsallouris, and launented the caise vnto thame; saying, he nevir hard nor saw of sick ane misfortunat marvell, to so few a number of Scottismen to defaitt his armie. The duik of Norfolk answeired, " Sir, tak yea comfort; it is bot chance of battell, and God gives victorie as he pleassis: this tyme hath beine thairis, the nixt tyme wilbe oures as pleassis God; thairfoir your grace neids not pais for this small number, thair is men enew

in England, and we sall have als monie in thair rowmes." Att thir wordis king Harie was something pacified, that it was trew that the duik of Norfolk had spokin: thairfoir he settled his mynd, and held out his purpose to France to have his pensioun.

In this meantyme thair past an ambassadour to France, showing the king of France how the Inglisemen war defeat in Scotland, and quhat danger the realme stood into, desiring his grace for support of men of warre, assuring him that the Inglisemen war resolved with all diligence to be repaired of that lose quhilk they gott att Ankrum muire, and also this ambassadour shew how the earle of Lennox and the cardinall had fallen at variance and plenyied that the earle of Lennox had not vsed the king of France command, and speciallie in the dispositioun of the money quhilk was send in Scotland be the king of France, with mony other leisingis he shew to the king of France on this noblman, quhilkis was givin him in commissioun be the cardinall, to put the said earle out of the king of France conceitt, and to caus him tyne his love and benevolence in tymes cuming. To this effect the king of France gart call his counsall, to sie quhat was best to be done in thir affaires; for the king of France knew weill that the king of England

was cum in France with his armie, and had no will to spair men to pas in Scotland. Yit the counsell concludit that he sould send some notable man quhom to he would give credit to try the matter: and to sie quhat was the occasioun the earle of Lennox banischment, and if it was true the plaint and narratioun quhilk the cardinall had sent to him. And to this effect the king caused send ane wyse captane in Scotland, called Monseour Lorge, and with him ane hundreth men of armes, to try quhat fault the earle of Lennox had maid to the queine, and the cardinall, quhairthrow he was banisch-ed of the realme; with ane commissioun to the governour to raise the hail bodie of Scotland, and pas in England, as Monseour Lorge would devyse, to draw the Inglisemen out of France.

This captane cam in Scotland the nynt day of Julij anno forsaid, and presented himself befor the governour and the queine, shewing thame his desir and commissioun from the king of France, quhilk was to raise ane armie in Scotland, and pas in England to draw the Inglisemen out of France. Off this desir the queine was verrie glaid and solisted the governour and lordis thairto, quho haistilie consented to the same, and to that effect, gart mak proclamatiounes through all Scotland, that all manner of men betuixt sixtie and six-

teine, both spirituall and temporall, both in burgh and land, to compeir att Hadingtoun, with ane monethis victuallis, to pas with the governour. So the haill bodie of the realme assemblit at Hadingtoun to the number of fourtie thousand men. Thairefter, the governour, with the Frenchmen, togidder with the armie, passed fordwardis, and passed to Barganey hauch, fornent Wark, and lay thair the space of aught days, and everie day went in Ingland fyve or six myllis, and brunt the cornes that was vpoun the ground, and all other hirschip that lay in thair gaitt: and everie night retired back to thair camp againe. Bot the Frenchmen and the lord Home would have had the governour passand over the Tweid to Wark with thair host, and to have seided the same. Bot the governor and his counsall would not consent heirto, becaus he wanted great artaillie and vther necessar thingis requisit for ane seidge, so they returned home again to Edinburgh, the twelff day of August anno forsaid. Bot Monseour Lorge, the French captane, past to Stirling to the queine, and thair remained ane certane space with hir, and left some of his companie in Edinburgh, and some in Sanct Andros, quhill the dead of the winter was passed over.

Bot at this time Monseour Lorge, the French

captane, and the cardinall being both in Stirling, fell in reasoning befor the queine anent the earle of Lennox, asking the caus of his banischment. The cardinall alledgit, that he had failed to the queines grace, and to him in dispositioun of the money quhilk the king of France had sent to him, and gave it quhair he pleased. Bot Monseour Lorge was vtherwayes informed be thame that knew the earle of Lennox pairt ; and also he favoured him selff, becaus they war companiones in the court of France ; thairfoir he spok the more sharplie in the caus, and inquyred of the cardinall, quhy he keipit not his promise to the earle of Lennox quhen he sent to France for him, desiring him to cum in Scotland and he sould mak him governour of Scotland, and husband to the queines grace, and in this manner caused him to leive France and his honest living thair, and cum in Scotland for this effect ; and when he cam he was but mocked and scorned, and no promise kept vnto him maid be the queine nor cardinall. Bot the cardinall answeired in ane furie, and said to Monseour Lorge, that he lied : and immediately Monseour Lorge took vp his hand and hatt the cardinall ane sicker blow befor the queine, and if thei had not beine betuixt thame the

sooner, he had sticked the cardinall: bot he was hurled to the doore, and sundred at that tyme. Bot Monseour Lorge said in presence of the queine, he was bot ane fals whorsone preist, and had caused the king of France spend his money in vaine, and had put the earle of Lennox out of the king of France conceit be his fals declaratiounes. The queine being discontent of this altercatioun, desired the cardinall to pas home for a quhyll, till shoe sould pacifie all thingis at his pleasour. Bot Monseour Lorge would nevir consent to cum in the toun or pallace quhair the cardinall was; notwithstanding, some of his men war weill intertained in Sanct Androis, and propyned all be him with horss, halkis, and houndis, etc. and remained thair in Sanct Androis with the cardinall meikle of the winter seasoun quhill the spring tyme; and syne, thair Mr, Monseour Lorge, and they passed home againe to France.

In this meantyme, the cardinall perceaved himselff not to be so weill favoured with the queine nor the governour, for he saw and perceaved the earle of Angus throw his manheid and guid governance to exceid him fare in credit and favoures with the queine and governour. Thairfoir, the cardinall sett his intent to gett the governour subject to his

counsall and opinione, and for that effect he gatt the governoures eldest sone in keiping in the castle of Sanct Andros, togidder with my lord Ruthven's sone, and sundrie vtheris gentlemenis sones, as pledges that the governour sould remaine at the cardinallis pleasour in all thingis concerning the affaires of the realme. Fardder, he desired the governour to pas with him to Sanct Andros to his Yuill, thinkand thair to perswad him at length to his effect: Quhairto the governour consented, and cam to the cardinall to Sanct Andros to his Yuill, quhair he was weill receaved be him, and gorgeously intertained be the space of twentie dayes, and then he and the cardinall returned both to Edinburgh.

In this meantyme, thair was ane provinciall counsall holdin be the cardinall, bishopsis, and the rest of the clergie, at Edinburgh, the twentie sex day of January 1546 yeires, in the Black Freires, quhair they consulted vpoun all thingis concerning the libertie of the kirk and faultis to be corrected.

In this meantyme, thair was one given vp and delaitted, called Mr George Wishart, who was ane preacher of Christis evangell, at quhom the bishopsis and preistis had great invy, concluding that they would persue him to death if thei might apprehend him in ony

place. Att the last word cam to the cardinall, that Mr George Wishart was within six mylles of the toun, in ane gentlemanis hous, called Ormestoun: and to this effect, the cardinall past haistilie to the governour, desiring him to send his servandis to Ormestoun to tak the said Maister George, that he might be persued as ane heretick. The governour was verrie loath heirto, bot at last, be persuasioun of the cardinall, he sent his servantis to tak the said Mr George Wishart. Bot the laird of Ormestoun would in no wayes delyver him, think-and, be ane meane or other, to have gottin him transported, and send him frie away from him. Bot the governour and cardinall adverteised heirof, they lap on horse about midnight, and cam to Ormestoun, and lap about the hous, desiring Mr George to be delyvered. Bot they could not gett him till the earle of Bothwell cam, and wes caution vpon his faith and honour that he sould keip him skaithless at that tyme from any man. So he was delyvered to the earle of Bothwell, trusting that he sould saiff him from the cardinall and priestis malice, quhilk they buir to him for preaching of the gospell. Nevirtheles, this facile earle was flattred and intysed be the cardinall to delyver Mr George Wishart in his handis. Bot fra that tyme forth, the

earle of Bothwall threave nevir weill; nor none of his affaires prospered with him.

Efter this, the governour and cardinall passed to Sanct Androis, with this Mr George Wischart, and thair pat him in prisone in the Sea Tour, quhair he remained aught weikis, etc.

In the moneth of March thairefter, thair was ane conventioun of the queine, governour, and cardinall, with the rest of the haill lordis haldin at St Johnstoun, the 26 day of Februar, anno forsaide. Thair the governour and cardinall, with the earle of Ardgyll, justice-generall of Scotland, condemned to death, and gart hang four honest men, for eating of ane gous in lentron. Lykwayes they caused droun ane young woman becausshoe would not pray to our ladie, and other sanctis in the tyme of hir birth, etc. Thir dooms and condemnatorie sentences war givin out be the earle of Ardgyle sittand in judgment, in propper persone, be the instigatione of the cardinall and kirkmen. Bot fra that tyme foorth, the earle of Ardgyle to his dying day was evir diseased both in bodie and spirit.

Efter this, the cardinall cam to Edinburgh to ane conventioun of the lordis, quhair he remained schort quhyll, and eschaped narrowlie with his lyff, for his death was devysed be sundrie lordis of the realme, who

could not be content with his proceeding and cruell persecutioun of the servantis of God, yift he escaped at that tyme through the great confluence of people that was with him, and speciallie the barrones of Fyfe. So the cardinall cam back over the watter to his awin castle of Sanct Andros, and thair convenied all the bischopes, abbottis, pryores, dearies, archdeanes, monkis, chanones, frieris, preistis, and all other kirkmen at Sanct Andros, to hear and sie Mr George Wischart accused as ane heretick; and also, he sent for the governouris commissioun, and ane judge criminall to give doome on Mr George, if the clergie fand him guiltie. This message cam to the governour as I have showin; bot on of the governouris servantis [Sir David Hamiltoun of Preston,] stood up and said to his maister, "I marvell of your wisdome and conscience, that on this wayes consentis to put hand in the servantis of God, and latt murther thame for preaching Chrystis true evangill, considdering that yea have professed the samyne yourselff, and be the grace of God yea ar placed in the place of ane king of Scotland, quhilk sould move yow to caus the preaching of the gospell have ane frie passage throw all the realme, quhilk is the direct way to honour God, quho hath so honoured yow; and sieing your grace commandit and desired all

men to reid and exercise the old and new Testament, quhilk is the only dittay that is laid to Mr George Wischartis charge, quhat will the countrie say, but that yea are revotted from the religioun, quhilk if yea doe, traist not to have so guid succes in your interpryssis in tymes cuming, as yea have done in tymes by-gane, and may be an occasionn that God may rent the kingdom out of your handis, and give it to another lyk as he did to Saull, and gave the kingdome to David; bot I wold not that ye were Saull that suffered the innocent blood of Chrystis servandis to be shed."

The governour hearing of thir wordis, he was perswadit to wrytt to the cardinall, to continew * the accusatioun of Mr George Wischart, quhyll he and he spok togidder, and if he wold not, his awin blood be upon his awin head, for he would not consent that that man sould suffer persecutioun at that tyme. Notwithstanding of this wrytting, the cardinall was so inflamed againes Mr George Wishart, be the counsall of the bishopsis, that he haistilie persecuted him as efter followis; that is to say, he brought him out of the castle to the abbey-kirk, to be examined and accused of sick articles as they had to lay to his charge. But first,

* Delay.

Deane Johne Windrahame, doctour of theologie maid the sermon that day. His text was out of the thretteine chapter of St Mathew, quhilk was ane convenient pairt of scripture to perswad the servandis of God, and speciallie the professoures of his word, to remove all malice and rancour of heartis that they had towardis that innocent man, quho was to be accused; desiring thame to follow Chryst, in love and charitie towardis thair brethreine. Bot all this awailed not, for thair cruell hairtis could not be asswadged of thair great ire and malice towardis that innocent man, bot cruellie condemned him to the death. His accussaris war maister Johne Lather, and Mr Andro Oliphant, as eftir followis.

When the sermon was done, this deane Johne Windrahame cam doun out of the pulpitt; then they caused Mr George Wishart ascend thairin, and heard his accusatioun laid in againes him be his accusaris, as said is, who began to him in this manner, with dispytfull and blasphemous wordis, as yea sall heir heirefter in his accusatioun; quhilk accusatioun conteaneth the wordis efter following, quhilkis war pronounced befor the cardinall, the haill bishopis, abbottis, pryouris, etc. as all other small preistis, as gray and blak freires, channones, monkis, and all vther of the shavin sort.

The accusatioun of Master George Wischart, gentleman, quho suffered martyrdome for the faith in Chryst Jesus, att Sanct Andros, the first day of Marche, anno forsaid, with the articles quhairof he was accused, as efter followis at mair lenth is declared :

With maist tender affectioun and vnfained heart, considder gentle reader the vncharitable manner of the accusatioun of Maister George Wischart, maid be the bloodie enemies of Chryst. Note also the articles quhairof he was accused, and by ordour digested, and his meik answeiris so far as he had leive and leasour to speak. Finallie, possessed with ane dissembling spirit, tirranicall furie, and infernall credulitie, of the malignant church, in opponing againes the saidis articles ; and be the contrair the most humble, patient, and pleasant answeiris of Mr George, maid to thame, suddenlie without fear, not having respect to thair glorious minassing and hosteous threatenings, bot charitable and without all stope of tongue answeired, not moveing his countenance, nor changeing, as in his accusatioune heirefter manifestlie sall appear, be the said Mr George being in captivitie in the castle of Sanct Andros. The deane of the said toun was sent for by commandement of the cardi-

nall, and his wicked counsall, and thairto summondit Mr George that he sould compeir befor the judge, and thair to give an accompt of his seditious and hereticall doctrine. To quhom maister George answered, Quhat neidis hes my lord cardinall to summond me to answer for doctrine opinlie befor him be quhom I am bound in yrones, so that he may caus me compeir when he pleassis; for I am readie to give an accompt of my doctrine to manifest yourselfis quhat men yea ar. It is weill done that yea keep your old ceremonies and constitutiones maid be men.

Vpoun the morne my lord cardinall caused his servandis to address thamselffis in thair most warlick array, with jack, spear, and splent, seimeing rather for warre, nor for the true preaching of the word of God. When these warlick championes war marching in warlick ordour, and had convoyed the bischopes to the abbey church, incontinent they sent for maister George Wischart, who was convoyed to the church be the captane of the castle, lyk to ane lamb goeing to be sacrificed, and when he entred in at the kirk doore, thair was ane poor man lying with infirmities, asking almes of him for Godis saik, to quhom he flang his purs. And when he cam befor the cardinall, by and by, the subpryor of the abbey, called

Mr John Windrame, quhom I shew yow be-
foir maid the sermon, taking his text out of
the thretteine chapter of Sanct Mathew ; whois
sermon was divydit in flour principall paires.
The first was ane short declaration of the
evangell ; the second pairt the interpretation
of the guid seid, and, becaus he called the
word of God the guid seid, heirefter the evill
seid, he declared quhat heresie was, and how
it sould be knawin, he defined in this manner.
Heresie is ane fals opinion, clearlie repugne-
ing againes the word of God. The thrid pairt
of the sermon was the caus of heresie, quhillk
he said was the ignorance of thame that had
the care of the soules of the people, to quhom
necessarilie belongeth to have the care of
menis soules, and true knowlege of the word
of God, that they may be the more able to
overcome heretickis with the sword of the spi-
rit: as sayes sanct Paull, ane bischope sould
be gentle as becomes the minister and servand
of God to be, and not to be malicious nor
givin to vyce, but to be poore and humble in
spirit, harberous to the poore, righteous, god-
lie, temperat, and to vse thamselffs in all
thingis according to the rule of Godis word,
that they may be the more able to improve
sick thingis as heretickis layes againes thame.
The fourth pairt of the sermon, how heresie

sould be knawin: "heresie". quoth he, "sould be knawin in this manner, as goldsmithis knowis the fynest gold by the imperfyte; be the tuichstone, that is, the true, sincere, and undeffylled word of God." At the last, he added, that heretickis sould be put down in this lyff, the which proposition the gospell appeared to repugne, quhilk he intreated of, latt thame not grow vnto the harvest, the harvest is the end of the world; nevirtheles he affirmed that he sould be put down be the civill and magistrat law. And quhen he had endit his sermon, incontinent he caused Mr George to ascend to the pulpitt, thair to hear his accusatiounes and articles, and richt fornent him ane Mr Johne Lather stood up with ane long roll of maledictiones, and forged articles of dittay, againes the said Mr George. Notwithstanding, the said Mr George stood patientlie heiring thir despytfull sayingis, not moveing his countenance thairat. Quhen this fed sow, Mr Johne Lather, had red out all his lieing threateningis, his face being sweitting, and froathing at the mouth lyk ane bair, spatt at Mr George Wischart, saying, Quhat answeiris thow to this rungatt tratour theife, quhilk we have dewlie proved be sufficient witnes againes the? Mr George heiring this, fell down on his knies in the pulpit, making his prayeris to

God, and when he had maid his prayeris, he rose vpe, and answered modestlie and sweetlie in manner as followis.

Mr George, his oratioun. “ Many and horrible sayingis have yea spokin vnto me, ane christian man, quhilkis ar abominable to hear. Thairfoir, I pray your discretiounes quyetlie to hear to me quhat war my sayingis, and the manner of my doctrine. This is my petition, my lordis: I desir to be hard for thrie caussis; the first is, throche the preaching of the word of God, his glorie is maid manifest: it is reasonable, thairfoir, for the advancement of the glorie of God, that yea hear me preaching truelie the puire word of God, without dissimulation. The second reasoun is, becaus your health springeth of the word of God. The thrid reasoun is, becaus your doctrine speakis so many pestilentious blasphemies, not coming by the word of God, nor by Godis inspiration; it is just, thairfoir, that your discretiones know quhat my wordis and doctrines ar that I have taught in this realme, that I preached not vnjustlie to the great perrill of your soullis; quhairfoir, both for the glorie of God, your awin health, and saifguard of my lyff, I besaik your discretiounes to hear me,—I sall recit my doctrine without any collour. First, Since the tyme I com in this realme, I taught no-

thing bot the ten comandementis, the twelff articles of the faith, and the prayer of the lord in the mother tongue. Morover, in Dundie, I taught the epistle of Paull to the Romanes, and I sall show your discretiones faithfullie in quhat forme I taught thame, if your discretiones will give me audience." Then with hie voyce cryed the accuser, Maister Johne Lather, "Thow fals heretick and tratour, it was not lauchfull to the to teach; thow hes taine the power at thyne awin hand, without any auctoritie of the kirk: we forthink that thow hes beine ane preacher so long." Then all the whole congregatioun of the prelatiis said, "If we give him leive to preach, he is so craftie and exercised in the scriptures, that he will perswad the people to his opinion." Maister George sieing thair intentis, appealed to ane indifferent and equall judge, to whom Mr Johne Lather, the accuser, answeired with ane hideous voyce, "Is not my lord cardinall second persone of Scotland, chancellour thair of, archbishope of Sanct Androis, bischope of Merapoise in France, comendatour of Aberbrothok, legatus natus, etc.: and so reciting his stylles, is not he, quod he, ane sufficient judge for the?" To quhom this humble man answeired; "Brother, I refuse not my lord cardinall, but I desir the word of God to be my

judge, and the temporall estate, and some of your lordschipis, my auditouris, becaus I am heirmy lord governouris prisoner." Quhairvpoun, the prydfull and scornefull people that stood by mocked him, saying, such man, such judge speaking seditious and reproachfull wordis againes the governour and vtheris of the nobles, meaning thame also to be here-tickis. And incontinent, they wold have him givin sentence on Mr George, had not certane men counsalled the cardinall to caus reid his articles, and hear his answeiris thairvnto, that the people complaine not of his vrongous accusation and condemnatioun, quhilkis articles followis, and his answeiris thairvnto in this manner.

The first article.—Thou fals runegat tra-tour theife, that deceives the people, dispyssis the cursingis of the kirk, and contempnis my lord governouris authoritie, and this we knaw for suith, when thou preached in Dundie, and was chairged be my lord governour to desist, thou would not obey, bot continewed in thy preaching, and thairfoir, the bischope of Bre-chine cursed the, and delyvered the in the devillis hands, and gave the command that thou sould teach no more, bot nevir the les thou did continew.

Answer.—My lordis, I have red in the

actis of the apostles, that it is not lesum for the threatningis of men to leive off the preaching of the gospel; thairfoir it is written, thow sall rather obey God nor man. I have also red in the prophet Malachi, I will blis your cursingis, and curs your blissingis. If conscience had not judged me to have done evill, I sould have desisted for your cursingis, or elis for your brotherlie warningis. Bot, because I vused no vngodlie deid, I suffered patientlie your cursingis, beleiving firmlie, that the lord will turne your cursingis into blessingis.

2. Thou fals heretick said, that a preist saying mes at the altar, was lyk ane fox waggiung his taill in Julii.

Answeir.—My lordis I said not so, but I said the motioun of the bodie outwardlie without the invard motioun of the heart, is not els bot as the playing of an aipe, and not the true service of God: for God is ane secret sier of menis heartis. Thairfoir, quho will truelie honour him most with sinceritie of heart worship him.

3. Thow fals heretick teaches againes the sacramentis, saying, thair be not sewin sacramentis.

Answeir.—My lordis, I nevir taught of the number of sacramentis whidder thair be sewin or ellevin, bot I profes opinlie, so many as ar

institute be the word of God, without the quhilk I dare affirme nothing.

4. Thow fals heretick hes taught opinlie, that auricular confession is no sacrament, and that we sould confes us to God onlie, and to no preist.

Answer.—My lordis, I say that auricular confessioun, sieing it hes no warrand of the scriptures, thairfoir it cannot be ane sacrament; off the confessioun to be maid to God, thair ar many testimonies in scripture, as when David sayes, that I wold acknowledge my iniquitie againes myself vnto the lord, and he forgive me my trespas. Heir confessioun signifieth the secreit acknowledgiment of our sines befor God. Quhen I exhorted the people in this manner, I reprov'd no manner of confessioun; and for that, Sanct James sayes, acknowledge your selffis on to another, and so latt peace be amongs yow.

Quhen he had thus answeired, the bischopes and preistis gnashed thair teith and girmed vpoun him, saying on to another,—sie yie not quhat craft he hes to seduce us to his opinion.

5. Thow heretick said opinlie, that it was necessar to everie man to knaw and vnderstand his baptisme, and that it was contrair to

our general counsallis, and the estate of the hollie church.

Answer.—My lordis, I beleive thair is no man so vnwyse that will mak merchandice with ane stranger, vntles he knew first the condition maid by the stranger, so I would we vnderstood quhat thing we promise in the name of the infant vnto God in baptisme, for this caus, I beleive yea have confirmation.

Then answeired Maister Blaitter, cheplane, that he had the devill within him, and the spirit of heresie;—then answeired ane young scollar boy, it is a devillish tairl to say so, for the devill cannot move a man to speak as you man does.

6. Thow heretick sayes, that the sacrament of the alter was bot ane peice of breid baikin upon the asch, and all that is thair done, is bot ane superstitious rytte, againes the commandementis of God.

Answer.—My lordis, I never taught any thing againes the scriptures concerning the sacrament of the alter, quhilk, with Godis grace, I sall manifest this day, I being thairfoir to suffer death, the lawfull vse of this sacrament is most acceptable vnto God, but the above thair of is verrie detestable vnto him; bot quhat occasion have yea to say so of me. I sall schortlie show your lordschipis I once hap-

pened to meitt with a Jew quhen I was sailing vpoun the watter of Rhemis, and I did inquire of him the caus of his pertinacie that he would not beleive the true Messias was come, considering that they had seine all the prophecies to be fulfilled quhilkis was spokin of him, and be many testimonies of the scripture, I vanquished him, that the Messias was cum, quhom they call Jesus of Nazareth. The Jew answered to me, when Jesus sall cum he sall restore all thingis againe, he sall not abrogatt the law quhilk was givin to our forfatheris as yea doe, for we sie the poore perisch amonges yow, and yea ar not moved with pittie towardis thame, bot amonges ws, though we be poor, thair be no beggares. Secondlie, it is forbidden be law to forme any kynd of imagrie bot to serve on God onlie, bot your sanctuaries and kirkis ar full of idollis. Thirdlie, ane peice of breid baikin vpoun the ashe, yea abrae, and say it is your God. Heir my lordis I have rehearsed bot the saying of the Jew; which nevir approved to be trew.

Then the bischopis shuik thair headis, and spat vpoun the earth, and would not hear fardder in the matter.

7. Thou fals heretick said, that extreame vnction was not ane sacrament.

Answer.—My lordis, forsuith I nevir taught

sanctified be the word, who is creatur to him,
I say is no creatur vncleane.

Then said all the bischopes, with thair complices, quhat neidis vs any witnes againes him? Hath he not opinlie spokin blasphemie?

12. Thow fals heretick said, that we sould not pray to sanctis, bot to God onlie.

Answer.—My lordis, said he, thair is tua thingis to be notted, the on is certane, the other is vncertane: certane it is that we sould worschip on God, and serve him according to the first comandement; bot as for honoring of sanctis, we have no true suire warrand. Thairfoir I will exhort all men to tak thame to the suir way, and to leive the vnsuire way, and to follow our mediatour, Chryst, quhilk is the richt way to enter into heavinlie inheritance, and who soevir seikis another to enter in bot be him, he climbis lyk ane theife; and this the manner of my doctrine, quhilk your lordschipis sall witnes, if yea pleas to hear me, for, by the warrand of the word of God, I tuik nevir on me, nor durst I be bold to teach any thing.

13. Thow, heretick, hes preached plainlie that thair is no purgatorie, and that it is ane vaine thing to say that a man, efter this lyff, salbe punished in purgatorie.

Answer.—My lordis, I have oftintymes said,

bot without the warrand of the Scriptures I dare affirme nothing : I have oftintymes red the Scriptures, and sick ane word as purgatorie fand I nevir, nor na word applyable thairto ; quhairfor I wold have beine ashamed to teach the thing quhilk I nevir fand in the Scripture. Then said he to Mr Johne Lawther, the accuser, If thow hes any testament of Scripture to prove any such place as purgatorie, show it furth befor this auditour. Bot this man held him dumb as ane stirk.

14. Now fals heretick hes taught opinlie againes the woves of nunes, freires, monkis, and preistis, saying, whosoevir was bound to siclyk vowis, they wowed thamselffis to the estate of condemnatioun ; and that it was lawfull to preistis to marie wayffis.

Answeir.—My lordis, I have red that thair hath beine thrie kyndis of chast men : some ar geldit from thair motheris vombe, some ar geldit by men, and some have geldit thamselffis for the kingdome of heavines saik ; verilie I say thir men ar blissed be the Scripture: bot as many as have not the gift of chastitie, and have not overcum the concupiscence of the flesh, and have avowed chastitie, yea have experience, although I held my peace, to quhat manner they have avowed thamselffis.

15. Thow, runigaite, said that thow will not obey our generall and provinciall consallis. . . My lordis, quhat your generall counsall is I knaw not, nor I was never exercised in thame, bot gaue my laboures to the pure word of God. Reid heir your generall counsallis, or els give me ane buick quhairin they ar contained, that I may reid thame, and if they be agreeable to the word of God, I will agrie with thame.

Then the ravenous woulffis turned into woodnes, saying, quhairfoir beid we to speik any farther, and than these cruell tigers, with ane hypocrite with thame, ane seducer of the people, called Johne Gray, standing behind Mr Johne Lawtheris back, haisting him to reid the rest of the articles, saying,—we may not abyde his answeires no more, quod he, nor the Devill may abyde the signe of the croce.

16. Thow fals tratour said, that it is vanitie to build coastlie kirkis, sieing that God remained not onlie in kirkis and places maid be menis handis, nor that God cannot byd in so litle boundis as betuixt the preistis handis.

Answer.—My lordis, sayes he, if the heavin of heavines cannot comprehend the Lord, how much les this hous that I have buildit, and Job consentis to the same sayingis, sieing he is higher nor the heavin, quhat can he

build to him : he is deiper than hell, how then sall yea knaw him : he is longer nor the earth and broader nor the sea ; so that God cannot be comprehendit in one place. Notwithstanding of all these sayings, I evir avowed that kirkis sould be buildit and maintained, that the people may assemble thairin to the true preiching of the word of God.

17. Thow, heretick, contempis fasting, and sayes we sould not fast.

Answer.—My lordis, I find that fasting is commendit in the Scripture, thairfor I war ane sclanderer, of the Gospell if I contempned fasting ; for I have learned oft that fasting is guid for the health of the bodie ; but God knawis who fast the true fast.

18. Thow fals heretick, hes preached opinlie, saying that the soull of man shall sleip to the latter day of judgment, and sall not obtaine lyffe immortall quhill that day.

Answer.—God, full of mercie and guidnes, forgive thame that say such thingis of me. I wott and knawis truelie, that he who hes the true faith in Jesus Chryst, and beleives firmlic in him, that manes soull sall never sleip, bot sall evir live, quhilk lyff sall never have ane end, bot sall lyve in immortall glorie with Jesus Chryst for evir.

Quhen the bischopes, with thair complices,

had accused this innocent man in manner for-
said, incontinent they condemned him to be
brunt as ane heretick, not having respect to
his godlie answeires, nor true reasones, nor yitt
to thair awin conscience, thinkand verrilie that
they sould doe to God guid service, conform-
able to the sayngis of St Johne, they sall ex-
communicat yow, yea and the day sall cum that
he quho killeth yow sall think that he hath
done good service to God.

The prayer of Maister George Wishart. "O
immortall God, how long shalt thou suffer the
vngodlie to exercise thair furie vpoun thy ser-
vandis, quho doe furdder thy word in this
world, sieing they desir the contrair to chocke
and destroy thy true doctrine, by the quhilk
thow hes showin thyselff to the world, which
was all drouned and blinded in misknowledge
of thy hollie name. O Lord we know suirle
that thy servandis must suffer afflictioun in this
present lyff for thy saik, quhilk lyff is but ane
shadow, as thou hes showin to vs by thy prof-
feittis and apostles. But Lord we beseik the
to preserve and defend thy congregatioun,
quhom thou hes chosin befor the beginning
of the world, and give them grace to reverence
thy word."

Then they caused the commoun people to
remove, quhois desir was to hear that innocent

man speak, and the sentence pronounced, that sentence definitive, not having respect to the sentence of God. Quhen all these thingis war done, the cardinall caused the tornienteris pas againe with this innocent man, and meik lamb, to the castle, quhill the fire was prepared. Then the said Mr George was brought out of the abbey kirk to the castle againe, to the captanes chamber in the Sea Tour, quhair he remained all night at his contemplationes and prayris, quhill on the morne the cardinall sent preistis and freiris to him, to mak his confessionn, showing to him that he behoved to suffer. Mr George answered, that he had nothing to doe with priestis, bot if they wold send the honest and godlie man that maid the sermon yesterday to him, he wold oppin his mynd to him, and be reconcilled in any thing that his conscience moved him. This answer cam againe to the bishopsis, quho war content thairwith, and caused the subprieour to pas to him incontinent, to say his mynd. And als soone as the subprior past to him, and hard of his mynd, and knowing him to beane innocent man, and ane true servand to God, quho was guiltles of all sick thingis they laid to his chairge, incontinentlie begouth to weip, and lament his death; and after long communing, he inquired of Mr George if he would have

his sacrament? he answered, glaidlie if I might have it as Chryst institute. Then the subpryor past againe to the bischopis, and shew thame that he had spokin with Mr George at length, and that he had taine it vpoun his soull that he was innocent all that was laid to his chaarge, and if he died that day, he sould die ane innocent befor God and the world.

The cardinal hearing of this narratioun of the subpryor, was highlie commoved at him, and answered him saying, "Weill weill sir, we knaw yow and quhat yea ar sevin yeires since. It is not now to him to mak purgatioun." The subpryor also inquired of the bischopis if they would consent that Mr George sould have his communioun. The bischopis consulted vpoun this, and concludit that they wold give him no benefit of the kirk, becaus he was condemned as an heretick. With this answer the subpryor past againe to Mr George, quhilk when he hard, he thanked God, patientlie beseiking God to forgive thame of thair ignorance and malice towardis him. Efter this the subpryor tuik his leive of him, being richt sorrowfull, exhorting him to be of guid comfort, and sett his hope and mercie in the Lord, for he saw no appeirance of mercie with men. Thairfor they exhorted

itheris to pray each on for another, and departed with weitt cheikis on both the sydis.

Be this the hour of noone drew near, that the captane of the castle, and the gentlemen that war with him, went to the denner in the captanes chamber, wher maister George was, of quhom the captane inquiryed, if he was disposed to cum and eatt with thame. Mr George answeired; " With ane guid will, for I am better content to eatt with yow this day, nor erir. I was in my tyme, becaus I knaw yow to be guid, godlie, and honest men, and that meatt to be my letter meatt. Bot I will exhort yow that you will sitt down at the table and put silence in the hous ane quhyll, and give me audience, that I may mak an exhortatioun to bliss the meatt, quhilk we sall eatt as brotheris in Chryst, and thairefter I will tak my leive of yow."

Be this the table was covered, and bread laid thairvpoun, Mr George begane his exhortatioun, quhilk declaired unto thame Chrystis latter supper, death, and passioun, quhilk continewed the space of halfe ane hour, exhorting thame to leive malice and envy, and affix love and charitie in their heartis, on to another, that they may be memberis in Chryst, and be thair advocatt to his father. This being done, Mr George tuik breid and wyne, and eat and

drank himself, and gave it to the captane and the rest, blissing it in the name of the Father, the Sone, and of the Holy Ghost; beseiking thame to eatt and drink with him all round about, for they wold drink no more with him; for he was to tast ane bitter cup within short space, and that onlie for the preaching of the evangell, and love that he buir to God. Bot tak yea no scandle; bot pray for me, and I for yow, that our meittingis and joyes may be in heavin with our father, sieing thair is nothing on this earth bot anxiety and dollour."

Quhen maister George had endit thir sayngis, he said the grace, and thanked God, and thairefter past to his chamber, and thair continued at his contemplatiounes and prayeris, quhill the cardinall and bischopis had done with thair denneris. Thairefter thair was tuo tormenteris send to Mr George, the one having ane cote of buccrum, and the vther certane pockis of powder. And when they had put the coatt on Mr George, and the powder round about him, they broucht him forth to the captanes vtter chamber, quhair he remained ane space quhill the scaffold was prepared; and than the artaillie was chairged, and laid to the wall heidis, and cuscheones and greime cloathis brought vp to the wall heidis, to the cardinall and bischopis to sit vpoun; and all

the gentlemen war charged to pas to thair armour, to stand about the scaffold. In this meantyme, Mr George was talking with the captane, shewing him of sick thingis as would schortlie cum to pas: as he had vnderstood be signes and tokines, that he had seine, taking the air, not long befor at his contemplatiounes, For thair appeired vnto him in the nor-east ane gritt fir vpoun the sea, moveing in sundrie paites, quhill at the last it appeired to him: vpoun the citie of Sanct Andros, and lighted vpoun the castle thairof, and brak in sunder: quhilk signified to him the wraith of God, to fall vpoun the castle, and the men thairof; and not onlie vpoun that ignorant man that was lord thairof, but also vpoun the wholl town and inhabitants thairof, quhilk sould cum schortlie, by the expectationn of men; for he lookit southeast, and he saw ane gritt mistie and reikie cloud ryse and move forwardis till it cam abone Dunpenderlaw, besyd Haddington and thair stood abone the law the space of ane quarter of ane hour, and thairefter divydit in two paites; the on pairt of it went abone Haddingtoun, and the vther pairt thairof turned in the air, and went northwast, abone the kirk of Inneresk, and thair appeiring to him as it had beite ane blood discending out of the list. The captane inqyred quhat these thingis signified

to his judgment. He answered and said, "The reik that raise and hang abone Dunpenderlaw signified to him, that thair should cum ane counsall, and be holdin in the said law, quhilk should devyse meikle trouble to Scotland, and should caus meikle blood to be shed, and in speciall should vrait and destroy Hadintoun for evir, and many of the inhabitantis thair of, and all be occasioun of that wicked man that stopped the peice betuixt Scotland and Ingland; God forgive him that is so ignorant that watis not quhat he does.

Be this the officeris and tormentaris war chaired to proceid all fordward. Then the trumpetteris soundit, and the officeris and tormentaris brought foorth this poore innocent man to the fire, quhilk was prepared befor the castle yett, on the wast syd, fornent the wast blokhous, quhair the bischopis might ly on the wall headis and sie this sacrifice. And when Mr George was put on the scaffold and bound to it with yron chaines, he desired licence to mak his prayeris to the Almighty God for support of his church, quhilk was in danger of ravening woollffis, quhilkis war lyk to devour the same. Notwithstanding Godis promeis was ane sicker targe to all tham that belevies thairin, and at lenth, quhen he thought tyme, would confound the enemies thair of

At last, when Maister George had maid an end of his prayeris and orationes to the Almighty God, and had rendrit his spirit in his handis, than they laid the fire to him, and gave him the first blast of powder, quhilk was verrie terrible and odious to sie, for thair cam so great ane thud of wind out of the sea, and so great ane cloud of raine out of the heavines, that when the wind and weitt mett togidder, it had sick noyse and sound that all men war affrayed that hard or saw it. It had sick force and strenth that it blew down the stone wallis, and the men that satt thairon, to the number of tuo hundreth persones, quhilkis fell in the bischopis yaird, about the draw well thair of, and so monie of thame fell thairin, that tua of thame drowned immediatlle, and so thair was sacrifice both of fyre and watter. And than the captane of the castle exhorted Maister George Wischart to remember of God, and ask forgiveness of his sines; he answered stoutlie, howbeit the fyre had perturbed him, and said, "Captane, God forgive yon man that lyis so glorious on yon wall head; but within few dayis he sall ly as shamfull as he lyis glorious now." With that they pulled the tow and latt him speik no more, bot boldenit the grypt fyre about him, and when he was brunt all from the waist

doun, they bad him remember on God, and mak ane signe thair of: to that token he lap vp ane fute of hight in the fire, quhilk was ane great rejoycing to thame that favoured Godis word. But the bishopsis and preistis discharged all men to pray for him, vnder the paine of cursing, becaus they said he was ane heretick, and ought not to be prayed for.

We will latt him rest with God and Jesus Chryst, his maister, quhom he suffered martyrdom for his Gospell, and we will returne againe to the bishopsis and preistis, quho became so glorious and so proud of this sacrifice, that no man might vphold head with thame. Bot all thair glorie and pryde was turned to dollour and mischeiff within ane short space, howbeit that day in on vnion againes that puir man quhilk suffered, and in speciall the cardinall and the bischope of Glasgou, wes great that day at that poore mane's martyrdome, lyk as Pilat and Caiaphas wes at the death of Chryst. This martyre of God suffered on this wayes at Sanct Andros, the [first] day of [March] anno forsaide, befor the clergie and vniuersitie of Scotland, with many vtheris that saw that man suffer.

Efter this the cursed cardinall passed over to the abbey of Ardbroath, quhair he mett the earle of Crawford, and married his eldest doch-

ter vpoun the maister of Crawford, with great solemnitie. Thairefter he returned to Sanct Androis to his awin castle, quhair he gott word that the Inglisch men war preparing ane great navie to cum vpoun the coast of Scotland, to cum and distroy the same, and in speciall about St Androis, Fyfe, and within that coast : quhairvnto he sett his intent to find remeid, and sent for all the gentlmen that dwelt neir the coast to have thair counsall, and in speciall the lord of Rothies, my lord Lindsay, the lairdis of Weimes, Lochlevin, Lundie, Largo, Allerdies, and the laird of St Ninianes, with all vther gentlemen that dwelt neir the coast, that he might have thair counsall quhair strenth should be maid to resist Ingland, and charged thame to be readie at sick ane day as he ap-
poyntit, to ryd with him and visit the said coast.

Bot in this mean tyme Normond Leslie cam to him for certane bussiness ; bot they fell shortlie in alteration of wordis, quhilkis war vncharitable amongst Christiane men. Notwithstanding, Normond Leslie depairted to his ludging that night, quhill on the morne, betuixt four and fyve houres, syne cam down to the castle with his complices, and dang the porter from the yettis, and isched all the place at his pleasour : and Petir Melvill past vp to

the east blokhous chamber, quhair the cardinall lay, and rusched at the doore. . . The cardinall inquired, quho? Then they shew their names vnto him, and then he was affrayed, and said to thame, "Will yea slay me?" and they answered, "No." Then he opined the doore and lett thame in; and als soone as they entered in they stickit him. Then the cry raise in the toun that the cardinall was slain, and they rane to gett ladders to ledder the wallis, thinkand that he had beine alive, and to have reskewed him. Bot they that was in the castle laid the cardinall over the wallis to put all men out of doubt, and the people. And when he was lying over the wall, ane called Guthrie pisched in his mouth, that the people might sie ane part of Mr. George Wishartis prophecie fulfilled, quho said, that within few dayes he should ly als ignominious over that wall head, as he was glorious that day of his martyrdome.

Thir novellis cam to the queine and the governour of the cardinallis slaughter, quho was verrie discontentit thairat, and highlie commoved at the deid doeris, and immediatlie summondit thame to find souertie, and underly the law within the space of six dayes, or elis gang to the horne. Bot the six dayes being past, and no caution sent,

they war put the horne. So they keipit still the castle of Sanct Andros, and furnished it with all necessar; and all sick as suspected themselffis guilbie of the said slauchter, past into the said castle for thair defence, to witt, the laird of Grange, Mr Hendrie Prymros, the laird of Pitmillie, the old persone George Leslie, Sir Johne Auchinlech, with many vtheris, who wer not at the slauchter, bot suspected themselffis to be borne at eyill will, thairfor they lap in to the castle, and remained thair the space of halfe ane yeir, and would not obey the authoritie, nor yitt hear of no ap-
poyntment nor offeris which was offerred yn-
to thame be the authoritie. But still malign-
ant againes the queine and governour, think-
and themselffis strong enough againes thame
both, and send thair messingeris to Ingland
to seek support, bot quhat they gott I cannot
tell. Bot this drew neir Mertimas quhill the
winter was at hand, and all men cryed out and
desired the governour to punisch sick injuries
done within the realme; and also the queine
perswadit the governour to put remeid heirto.
The governour heiring that the queine and
court war not content that he neglected the
punishment thairof, incontinent he raised
ane armie, and cam to Fyffe, to the castle of
Sanct Andros, quhill was holdin be the for-

saidis personnes, and brought tua gritt can-
nones with him, to witt, Cruik Mow and the
Deafe Meg, and laid ane seidge to the castle,
and seidged it the space of thrie monethis, and
could nevir mend thamselffis, quhill at the last
the pest cam in the toun so vehementlie, that
the governour behoved to raise and dissolve
the seidge and armie, and retire himselff to
Edinburgh to ane conventioun.

Bot thir men in the castle sieing the gover-
nour to have passed away and raised his
seidge, they became so proud, that no man
might live besyd thame, for they would isch
out and ryd throche the countrie quhen they
pleased, and sumtymes raise fyre and burne,
and vtherwhylles ravisch vomen, and vse thair
bodie as they pleased. And some godlie men
in the castell, that thought not thair lyffe nor
conversatioun honest, reproved thame sharp-
lie, thairfoir, saying, if they left not aff, it
could not be bot God would punisch thame
for the same quhen they luiket least for it.
Notwithstanding of thir admonitiounes, they
continwed still in thair former doeingis the
space of thrie quarteris of ane yeir thairefter.

In this meantyme, thair wes great warres
on the west borderis betuixt the Inglismen
and my lord Maxwell: for the Inglismen had
taine manie of the strenthis that lay in my

lord Maxwellis boundis, and laid the countrie waist. To this effect, and to put remeid heirto, Hendrie, lord Maxwell, cam to Edinburgh desiring support againes the Inglismen from the queine and the governour, that he might conquais his strenthis out of thair handis againe. Quhairfoir, the governour thought meitt to raise ane armie and pas forwardis to the borderis to seidge the saidis houssis, and in speciall the castle of Langhope, and to that effect maid proclamatiounes to all earles, lordis, barrones, gentlemen, and freeholderis, to meitt the governour at Peibles the day appoyntitt, and pas forward with the governour, quhilk was the twentie day of Julij, anno forsaide, with twentie dayes victualis, to pas with him quhair he pleased; so the armie conveyned at Peibles the day appoynted, and passed forward as said is. And on the morne thairefter he cam to Meggetland: and as they war passand throw the countrie besydis Guddies Cleuche, the lordis formed ane court of justice in the queines name and the governouris, and thairefter called vpoun my lord Rothes for the slauchter of the cardinall: quho compeired personallie, and thoalled an assyse be the adwyse of the wholl nobilitie, and thair was maid frie of the cardi-

nallis slaughter, being all lordis that war vpoun his assyse.

And thairefter, the host passed forðwardis to Langhope castle, and seided the same thrie dayes, and wan it, and brought home the captanes thairof as prisoneris to Edinburgh.

In this mean tyme, word cam to the governour, that the French armie was vpoun the sea neir by St Cobis head, to wit, six galleyis and two grift ships, as they beleived war making for Sanct Andros. The governour was glad of thir tidings, and haisted him to Sanct Androis with monie of the gentlmen of Fyfe, Angus, and Stratherne with him, and thair received the French captane, called the pryor of Cap, quho was directed in Scotland by the king of France to seidge the castle of St Andros, and win it, and to bring the holderis thairof to his presence, quhilk was done haistilie, as yea sall heir. For they cam so suddenlie vpoun the castle, that they quho war without might not gett in, nor they quho war within might not gett out: the Frenchmen lap so haistilie about the said castle and trenched it round about, so that they war haistilie inclosed; syne maned artaillie on the colledge steiple, and also vpoun the wallis of the abbey kirk: and condemned all the close and wall headis that war within the castle: that no man

that was within the castle durst move throw the close, nor pas to the wall headis. Then the French captane said to the governour, "They have beine vnexpert men of warre that hes seidgit the castle, that would not lay artaillie to all the steiple headis and high pairtis, quhilkis would evir have condemned the castle; and I marvell, that they quho ar within the samyne hes latten the steiple headis stand, quhilk at all tymes have put thame down from shotting and defending of thamselffis, thairfor, will God, your lordschip sall sie the morne, or six hours at night, I sall mak your lordschip ane easie passage throw the castle, and mak thame to obey you quho are within the samyne." Then the captane laid to the gritt batterie to witt, the tuo gritt Scottis cannones, quhairof we spak befoir, and six French cannones. Thir captanes devysed verrie craftille, that the cannones should pas down the gaitt thame alones with windessis to saiff men from slaughter. But thair happened ane Italiane to be in the castle for the tyme, quho was sent to thame out of England for thair support, and was their devyser: bot when the cannones war cuming down the gaitt thame allone, he said to the captanes and men of warre, Defend your selffis maisteris, for now yea deall with men of warre, quho ar verrie

and chiftane to this vngaird and aspie, and had ten thousand mounted on horsback with him. The earle of Huntlie was in the reir gaird with vther ten thousand men: and the governour himself in the great stail with twentie thousand men: and this was their ordour as I have showin yow. Notwithstanding of this, the English armie had bene four nightis in Scotland, and was camped abone Preston, vnder Tranent, and in the meantyme quhen they saw and perceaved the Scottismen so great ane armie, and so weill ordeoured, they war greatlie effeired, and lipned for nothing bot for sharp battell. Yitt they send thair ambassadouris with verrie courteous and humane letteris to the governour, queine, and counsall, desiring thame to keip thair conditioun and promise quhilk they had maid to thair king Harie concerning the peace and marriage quhilk they maid: and if they war not content thairwith, that is, that the contract of peace and marriage should stand, yitt, that they should latt thair young queine remaine in Scotland in thair awin realme, vnder the government of her awin lordis, and not to deliuer hir to no forrane nation in hope of marriage, nor yitt to contract hir with France, nor no vther realme quhill the space of ten yeires, that shoe might be of lawfull aige to

choose an husband to hir self, with adwyse and counsell of her lordis and nobilitie. Or at the leist, sieing they wanted victuallis, and might gett none in Scotland with favoures, that they would suffer thame to pas home frielie without any skaith, and if they had done any harme in Scotland at that instant coming, it should be weill mendit incontinent, and the double restorred to any Scottisemen that would plentyie thairvpoun.

Thir lettres comeing to the governour, and counsell, they wer resaued only be the governour himself, his brother the bischope of St Androes, the abbot of Drumfermeling, Mr Hendrie Rig, and Archibald Beattoun. Thir fyve onlie resaued the offeris and petitiones frome the protectour of England, quhilk wharppie persones wold not let the lordes nor weill advised counsell sie it. Bot they thame-selfis, but furder advise, gaue evill answeres thairvnto, but any respect of the weilfaire of the realme, nor what wes to come thairvpoun; rather haveing the feir of God in thame, to be the occasioun of so mekle bloodshed, quhilk appearence they saw befor thair eyne, bot being incensed with sick and foolish fury, sieing England, quhose meaneing was godlie and honest, and sick and armie, they conjectured that they wold conqueis Scotland, and tak a-

way the young quein be force. And gart the word pas throche the haill hoste of Scotland, baith to the nobilitie and commounes, sa maid thame all to beleive the thing whiche wes not true, for giue they hade considdered and knowin the sueit offeris that England maid that day, baith be word and writt, thair had not bein so mekle bloodshed as wes that day in thair default, and had saiffed the realme from the great mischieff which happened that day, and that throw concealing thir sueit forsaid offeris. Notwithstanding of all this, the Inglis army concluded that they wold not fecht nane at that tyme, giue they in ony wayes nicht eschew the Scotis army, and that for feir of conscience, they being Christiane brotheris to Scotismen, suld shed sa meikle Christiane bloode, as appeared giue they joyned: wherefoir they concludit to pas home in peace, quhill Scotland suld be better aduised to give ane guid answer; and in the meane tyme to redres all evillis, and costis done be thame, to ony Scottisman in thair comeing in the cuntrie. Thir novellis cam againe to the gouvour, that the Inglis armie had concluded to pas home, becaus they wanted victuallis, and might not get nane in Scotland with favouris, bot wer euill repulsit in ony thing they re-

quyred for thair owin money : yit they naither brint nor slew, nor herried the cuntrie.

Off this advertisement the governour grew verrie proud, and his wicked counsallouris puffed him to pas fordward upon the Inglis armie, and wold not suffer thame to depairt in peace, albeit thay had done no Scotisman skaith in thair coming, and had promised so to do in thair depairting. Yet this vnhappy privie counsall of the governouris, wald not tholl no guidwayes to be betuixt the tuo realmes, bot caused incontinent the heraldis to pas throche the armies of Scotland, charging all men to pas in ordour of battell; and this wes done be the great lordis of Scotland, wha knew nothing bot as they wer informed be the governour, his brother the bishope, the abbote, and Maister Hendrie Rig, quhilk privie counsallouris tint the nobilitie of Scotland that day, not haveing respect of God nor commonweill befor thair eyes, bot shew thame-selffis like beastlie fooles, quhilkis turned to thair deathes and destruction, and not onlie to thairis, bot to the haille nobilitie of Scotland, wha wer dewored and wanquished be thair owin misgovernance, and not be the manheid of Inglis men as we sall shew heirefter.

This being done, the Scottis men sett tham-

selfis, in arrayed battall, conforme to the heraldis proclamatioun, to witt, the earle of Angus in the vangaird with ten thousand men in guid ordour; the earle of Huntlie in the reirgaird with twelff thousand men of the north pairtis of Scotland; the governour himself in the stail host, and with him all the gentlemen of Lothiane, Eys, Angus, Stratherne, Stirlingshyre, and the wholl barrones of Scotland, to the number of twentie thousand men, and vpoun the right hand and wing the earle of Argyle, and all the wastland highland men of Scotland: and on the left hand, Macklend* and Makgregoris, with all the Illes men of Scotland, and marched fordwardis one little, quhilk was verrie awfull to the Inglish armie to behold so great ane number in so guid ordour, so that they wished effectuously to have beine at home for fear of thair lyves. So the earle of Angus, quho had the vangaird in guiding, was chaarged to marche fordward on the watter of Inneresk, quho obeyed his chaarge thankfullie, and passed in arrayed battell over the said watter of Inneresk, and stood be wast the kirk thair of, and thair abod, quhill the governour and the wholl host came over the watter of Musselburgh, and stood abone the Fisherraw in arrayed battell,

* Or M'Leud.

readie to joyne quhen they saw tyme. The Inglis men sieing the Scottis so near approach vnto thame with so great ane number, and no guid wayes might be had, nor licence to pas home againe, they feared greattumlie. Yitt the protectour, through counsall of the earle of Warwick, commandit my lord Grey of England, quho was captane of the great horsmen, to pas fordward on my lord Angus, and give him the chairge with his bairded horssis and demilances, and sie if he could break his host, quhair of they stood in greatest fear, for thei knew the earle of Angus to be ane noble chiftane of warre; thairfoir, he desired the lord Gray to hold him off quhill the footmen war reteired and out of danger. The lord Gray at the protectouris command, cam fordward with thrie thousand demilances to break the earle of Angus. Bot when the earle of Angus perceaved him coming, he maid stoutly to rencounter him, and caused sound his trumpettis, and kest down thair speires, and joyned verrie cruellie. Bot the earle of Angus speares war longer than the Inglis menis, quhairthrow they had ane vantage of the Inglis men, and at the first chocking, they rushed down both hors and men, to the number of tua hundreth, and the rest retired

and fled back to the protectour quhair he stood, and shew him saying; my lord it is als impossible to break the Scottis vangaird as they stand, more nor ane staine wall. Att thir sayingis, the protectour was verrie discontentit and effeired, and wished at God to have beine in Ingland saiff with his armie, and called the borderer quho was principall, and desired him to tak his gennet in his hand and gange besyd, and convoy him saiff away the best gaitt, that he might be saiffed. The earle of Warwick heiring the protectour at this poynt, that his courage was so abaitted, he said to him, "My lord, I marvell meikle of your manheid and wisdome that yea ar groun so feible, that yea regaird not for your awin honour, nor for the king of Inglandis artaillie, bot would leive all behind you in the field, and flie lyk ane coward; I avow to God, doe yea so, I sall appaill you befor the counsall of Ingland, that yea ar an fals tratour, and ane coward, that would tyne so many worthie foot men as ar heir, for if yea flie, and leive thame behind you, the Scottis will over ryd thame and slay thame: thairfoir, I awow to God, I sall alight heir on my foot, and tarrie heir with thame for any thing I sie yitt."

In this méantyme the earle of Angus battell was coming fordward, and had dung doun cer-

tane of the lord Grayes great horsmen, and had left thame behind him; and the Argyle highlandmen; that war in the governoures hoast, sieing the dead horsmen that war lying behind the earle of Angus, and he passand fordward from thame, they brak array, and ran to the spoillzie. Be this the Inglis men war returne and backward, and on into the governouris battell, when he saw the highland men break cryed, "Fy, fy, treasoun." In this meantyme the maister gunner of the Scottis armie, shott ane peice at the Inglis ordinance, and slew the maister gunner of England, and cutted the quhilles and axtrie of the cannon that he was schotting. The highlandmen hearing the noyse of the artailie, and the great clamour and stour that raise amongst thame, for it was in ane fauch eard and rid land quhair they moved for the tyme, and the stour was so great that nevir ane of thame might sie ane vther, so they yied out of ordour and begane to fle. The borrowis, sieand the highland men fle, they followed haistilie without any caus of thair enemies, for the Inglis men war from thame the space of ane quarter of ane myll and more, fleand as fast as they war, for sick ane marvell was nevir seine, as too kingis armies mettand so neir hand, and everie ane of thame fleand from vtheris, bot straik or injurie

done be aither of thame to ane vther. Bot when the protectour of Ingland and the earle of Warvick saw the great battell of Scotland returneand, giveand backis, they marvelled meikle quhat sould be the occasioun thairof. They judged it to be ane traine to cause thame returne, and draw thame vpoun thame becaus they saw the vther battellis standing still in ordour. Bot fra tyme they saw the Scottis-men latt thair veapones fall, and kest thair armour from thame, they thought all was thair awin, and cryed with ane loud voyce, the Scottis ar fled, they ar all our awin. Then they soundit thair trumpettis, and cam all fordwardis togidder upon the earle of Angus battell, quho sieing thame so great ane number cuming vpoun him, he settled and returned doun to the earle of Huntlie's battell, to have had helpe of him. Bot in this meantyme thair raise sick ane shour of raine, and ane thick mist, that nevir ane of thame might sie ane vther, bot the earle of Huntlie's host beleived quhen the earle of Angus' host cam back to have had reliefe of thame, that they had beine the Inglise armie, quhairfoir they kest doun thair speares, and joyned with thame as if it had been thair enemies, so that thair was monie slaine or they might knaw vtheris, etc. In this meantyme the Inglise armie cam

vpoun thame with so great crueltie and courage, both of horsmen and footmen, and killed exceeding many without any impediment, for the Scottismen had castin away thair veapones from thame, so that they war the sooner overcome. For thair was slaine of Scottismen that vnhappy day, to the number of ten thousand persones, and mony of thame lordis, barrones, gentlemen, and honest burgessis, with persones, viccaris, frieris, preistis, monkis, channones, and guid yeaman men; and many of thame war drowned and slaine in the watter of Mussilburgh, through feircnes in flieing and thair awin misgovernance, rather than be the manheid of Inglismen. Be this, when the feild was finisched, the protectour of Ingland gart sound his trumpettis, and cryed kill no more, and then the furie failled, and the battell endit. They tuik many prisoneris, quhair of sum war had in Ingland, and sum war ransomed in Scotland. Bot thair was slaine that day be the Inglismen, the lord Fleming, the maister of Erskine, the maister of Grahame, the maister of Livingstoun, the maister of Ogilvie, the maister of Buchane, with many other lordis and great barrones, quhilkis war tedious to rehearse. And thair was slaine of Inglismen that day, twelff scoir of horsmen, quhom the earle of Angus slew in the vangaird, amongst

quhom was the Lord Gray of England, and his eldest sone slaine. This sorrowfull battell was strickin in the moneth of September, the aught day thair of, in the yeir of God 1547 yeires.

Sum sayes, and ascryved the caus of this unhappie succes to be the pryd and unhappie wilfulnes of the Scottis, quho would nather keip condition nor contract, nor yitt hear of guid offeris; quhairfor God punished thame by thair expectatioun, and pat sick fear in thair heartes, that they fled and wist not quhairfor; for thair enemies war als effeired as they, and war fleand als fast as they, bot the Inglis-men fled lyk men, and held thamselffis togidder in ordour, quhill they saw thair tyme: bot the Scottis fled and brak ordour, and kest all thair veapones from thame, quhilk maid thame the more easie pray to thair enemies. The governour and rest of the counsall and nobilitie quho escaped out of the battell, went to Stirling to the queine, quho tuik ane great displeasour at the death of so many of the nobilitie, and true subjectis: yitt shoe buire fair with thame all that war of hir opinion, thinkand thairby to gett thair consentes to send hir dochter to France, quhilk was done haistilie as yea sall hear. Bot in this meantyme the protectour of England and all his armie continued in Scotland, efter the battell, and remained at

Leith, and passed everie day fyve or six mylles about the toun, seidge and and takand prisoneris as he pleased, for thair was no men to impede him, nor to say it was evill done; and thairefter he passed home to England, with great victorie, albeit his reigne lasted bot schort quhill, for oft tymes God will mak ane man a scourge to punisch iniquitie, and thairefter cast it in the fire, as yie sall heir efterwardis.

In this meantyme, and moneth anno forsaide, the queine and gouvèrnour conveyned ane counsall at Stirling, and thair concluded to send away the young queine to France for feist of England, albeit they neidit not. Bot yitt they send ane ambassadour to France to shew the king thair of, how it stood with thame in thair troubles; and desired support of France for revenge thair of, promising to send their young queine quhen they thought the tyme fitting, and fair weather that shoe might pas through the seas. Off this the counsall of France was weill content, bot they war slow and long in coming. In this meantyme the Inglis men tuik Haddingtoun, and garnished it with men and victuallis, and keipit the same thrie yeres, and laid all the countrie waist within ten mylles thairto, and also they tuik Inchkeith and Burghtie, and garnished thame with men and victuallis, and builded ane great strench besyd

Burghtie, called Balgillow law, quhairby they cumbred the countrie, so that within six mylles round about thame thair was no land laboured but payed thame dewtie.

The queine and governour was highlie commoved of thir oppresiones done to the poore people of Lothiane, Angus, and sumtymes to Fyfe, be the landing of thair shipes, quhilk landit and lay all that yeir in Taymouth, betwixt Burghtie and Dundie, and caused the barrones and gentlemen of Fyfe to watch nightlie for saiftie of thair guidis and geir, and especiallie quhen any shipis arrived in the firth: quhill at the last it happened certane Scottis-men to confidder with the Inglis-men to land in Fyfe and to burne the East Ferrie, Luch-eris, and that countrie, and promised to bring thame saiftie to thair shipis againe. Bot of this paction the gentlemen of the countrie was adverteised quyetlie that the Inglis-men wold land and burne the countrie. Bot lord James, commendatour of Sanct Andros, George, earle of Rothus, Johne, lord Lindsay, Andro Wood of Largo, and diverss vther gentlemen, with the proveist of Sanct Andros, and the tounship thair of, being suirlye adverteised that the Inglis-men would cum to land at the East Ferrie, they concludit, and cam in the dawning of the day to stop thair landing, and

dernd thaimselfis till the Inglismen had landit at Pertincraig, and than they passed betuixt thame and thair shipis, quhen they had sett forth thair forray to burne, etc.: and slew all thair forrey, and the most pairt of thair stail, to the number of aught scoir of thair best men of warre and marrineris, quhom of they had great lose for guiding of thair shipis; but fra that tyme forth they desired not to land in Fyfe.

In this meantyme the governour raised ane armie, and passed to the seidge of the castle of Burghtie, and lay at it ane quarter of ane yeir and came no speid, for it is said his captanes and gunneris deceaved him, and shott not true- lie at the hous. Thairefter thei returned home but ony victorie. Quhen the Inglismen that war in the castle of Burghtie saw that the seidge was raised, they grew verrie insolent and proud, and went throw the countrie and brunt and herried as they pleased. To witt, they brunt the castle of Waster Powrie and herried it, with sundrie vther villages, and the forthe was biged on Balgillow law, and vraised the haill countrie, quhilk was the occasioun of the burneing of Dundie, quhilk was brunt at that tyme be reasoun of the Scottismen; and also the Inglismen did great skaith in Lothiane and Fyfe at this tyme, be the holding of Had-

ingtown, and furnishing thair of, and also with Kinghorne, and the wholl ferries war opprest be the Inglismen that war in Inchkeith, so that the queine and governour war affrayed that they should conquies fardder in Scotland. To that effect callit thair privie counsall, and concludit to send away hir dochter, the young queine, to France; quhilk was againes many of the nobles willis and consentis, quho knew weill quhat skaith would follow thairvpoun; that wes, if our young queine was married vpoun the king of France, thair would be cruell wartes betuixt ws and Ingland; and all so France would desir ws and our realme to be ane province or pertinent vnto thame, as thair awin subjectis. Notwithstanding, though sum of the nobilitie thought this, and proponed the same, it would not sink in thair eares nor heartis, quho had sick blind love to France that they could not consider the weill of thair awin realme: for some feired that they would nevir conquies the realme out of Inglismenis handis but the support of France, quhairfoir they concludit to send away thair young queine to France, and shipped hir at the wast seas, in the moneth of Appryll 1548 yeires. Thair past with hir the lord Erskine, lord James her brother, with sundrie vtheris gentlmen and barones of the realme. In this meantyme the

French armie landit, at Leith to the number of sewin thousand men; to witt, ane thousand horsmen and men of armes, and six thousand footmen. Hei of thrie thousand Duchmen and thrie thousand Frenchmen, quhilkis war all guid lyk men, and weill arrayed, and had to thair captane and leistennent on called Monsieur Dosie. Bot he did litle guid in Scotland; bot spendit the king of France' money. And thair was on called Whittenraw, captane to the Duchmen. And thir forsaid men lay still ane quhyll at Edinburgh efter thair landing, quhilk was in Maij, anno forsaid. Hei efter word cam to the governour and queine, and the Frenchmen, that the Inglish armie was coming in Scotland, to the number of fourtie thousand men, and the earle of Herford, thair guider and principall governour and leistennent vnto thame, quho awowed befor king Harie, his maister, that he soult ryd als fane in Scotland as Pinkie feild, for all the fear of the French armie. So the governour and his armie, togidder with the Frenchmen, cam forwardis to Mussilburgh to meitt the Inglish armie, quho war come forward to Hadingtoun to the castle of Falsyd, abone the pairt quhair the feild was strikin; and when the governour and the French armie persaved the Inglishmen in sight, they soundit thair trum-

pettis and pat thair men in ordour, and gave the Frenchmen and Duchmen the vangaird, quho passed stoutlie fordwardis to meitt the Inglismen. Bot, on the vther syd, the Inglismen sieing the ordour of the Frenchmen and Duchmen in the vangaird, and syne sieing ane great armie of Scottismen following thame, they reteired haistilie in guid ordour eistward to Hadingtoun. The Frenchmen and the Duchmen sieing this, they would not follow thame, because they said it was not thair vse to chase men vnles they fled in feild. But the Inglismen had victualled Hadingtoun, and thairefter cam to show thamselffis, albeit they had no will to fight; bot passed to Aberladie heavin, and thair imbarcked certane of thair most able gentlmen to pas to Fife, and thair doe sum wassalage, and cam to the coast of Anstruther and Pittenweyme, bot they saw thame sick populous townes, weill garnished with men, they durst not land thair, bot cam wastward fornent St Monence, and landit thair, and thought to have past to Pittinweyme on foott, and thair thought to have taine the same, and garnished it with men and victualles, bot the countrie raise and cam to stope thame, quhilkis than war standing in arrayed battell vpoun the mure of St Monence; and brought some artaillie out of thair ships, and shott at

the commoun people of the countrie, and fled thame so that they gave back and cam no fardder. But then lord James, commendatour of Sanct Andros, the lairdis of Weymes and Largo, with sundrie vtheris of the countrie, cam and sped thame fast quhen they saw the fyre ryssing in the countrie, and thair for-gathered with the Inglismen, and skirmished thame so hotlie that they constrained tham to tak the chase to thair shipis, and slew the greatest pairt of thame in the chase, so that verrie few of thame escaped bot war aither slaine or drowned, except some prisoneris that they took that day. Thair was slaine of Inglismen and drowned that day, six hundreth and twelff persones, and ane hunder prisoneris tane. This act was done in Junij, anno for-said.

Att this tyme, the governour and Frenchmen passed to Hadingtoun with the wholl armie of Scotland, bot they did no guid thair, bot lay and waisted the king of France powder and bulletis, for the toun was strong and weill maned, and they that persewed it war nather hardie nor sharp, bot lay ane long time in Scotland, and did no guid bot evill, for quhen they returned from Hadingtoun, and left the seidge, they cam to Edinburgh, and slew the provost thair of, quho was captane of the castle

for the tyme, and also his eldest sone, with sundrie bailyies and burgessis, becaus they wold have put ordour to thair misrule. Bot when the queine and governour saw that the men of warre would not be counsalled, and thair captanes did no guid in defence of the countrie, bot opprest the poore people so in ony toun quhair evir they came; they send word to France, and shew the king of France his menes behaviour, quho incontinent sent ane noble man of warre in Scotland, called Monseour Deterius, quho, als soone as he cam in Scotland, caused Monseour Dosie and the rest of the Frenchmen pas to the Inch, and wone the same, and thairefter send him and his companie home to France. And thairefter, Monseour Deterius past to the castle of Burghie and seidgit it, and wane the same, and also the forth shortlie, and caused the Inglismen to rin home out of many partis of Fyffe, Angus, and Lothiane; for they that war in Hadingtoun could not be weill furnisched for slauchter of thaim quho cam to furnisch the same, bot when they had furnisched it, they war so chased, taine, and slaine at thair returning; quhilk was called the Twysdayes chase, that they war constrained thairefter to burne the toun and leive the same. So Inglismen war cleane dung out of Scotland, and

this realme maid frie of all vther nationes, and that be the support of France. This nation being maid frie as I have shewn yow, this countrie was at guid rest with all enemies; and that, pairtie, becaus thair was sick trouble in Ingland amongst thaimselfis, they lett wa rest in peice. Ebrat this tyme, the earle of Warwick, sitting at counsall, tuik the protection and had him to the Tour of London, and thairefter caused head him. Not long efter, king Edward was piteouslie put to death and shott; and thairefter, the earle of Warwick was heidit be the queine, and sundrie great battellis thairefter was strikin in Ingland, stryving for the authoritie, quhilk was the caus we satt in so guid peace and rest in Scotland the space of fyve yeiris.

In this meantyme, the lord Sempill in Scotland, slew the lord Sanquhar in the governours chamber, and no correction maid thairfor, becaus, he was the bischopis guid father; bot the plagie of God left nevir the bischopis hous thairefter, becaus they left the publict fault unpunished, conforme to justice. Yit the governour wes weill obeyed in all thingis, quhill at the last he and his brother, the bishope, begouthe to grow greidie, and held justice airis throche all Scotland, under pretext of justice, to fill thair bagis and boxes

with money ; for thair compositiones wer a-like to theiff and leall men with thair lawes. They scaffed throche all Scotland, oppress- and the leall men als weill as the theiff, for thair particular commoditie : and at this tyme, ane old barroun of the countrie, called the laird of Retch, was tane be the bischope of Sanctandros in Fyffe, quhair he was for the tyme, and had to Edinburgh and head- it, and his head put vpoun the tolbooth, and his landis forfalt. And this was done be- caus he send ane missive bill in England. Quhairat God moved the queines grace to be discontent with the bischopis and kirk- menis proceedingis. Thinkand that hir tyme was bot short, thairfoir shoe prevented it, and passed haistilie to France, and tuik certane of the nobilitie with hir, and thair procured at the king of France hand and hir dochteris, that shoe might have the governement of Scot- land, and be in the place of the governour thairof. The king and counsall of France consented incontinent heirto, that shoe was to be regent of Scotland, and took on him to satisfie the governour for his guidwill and tittle thairof, quhilk he did schortlie thairefter, and maid the governour duik of Chattellaroy, with many vther giftis of gold and silver : so that he was content to renunce over the office

to the queine. To that effect, the king of France send ane ambassadour in Scotland, called Monseour Doswell, to remaine with the queine to give hir counsall how schoe should rule the realme to the king of France, his pleasour, and hir dochteris proffeit; for this ambassadour was ane man of singular guid judgment, and weill experimented in warres, and greatlie esteemed in France for the same, and when he cam in Scotland, he [re] presented the king of France awin bodie at all counsallis and conventiounes, for quhat he desired, with the adwyse of the queine and counsall, it was performed in Scotland, and admitted in France be the king and counsall thairof. This man had great credence both in France and Scotland, so that all thingis in Scotland was done be his adwyce.

Not long after this, quhen the queine was come in Scotland, thair was ane parliament proclaimed to be haldin at Edinburgh, quhair the whole nobilitie of Scotland, both spirituall and temporall, compeired the day appoyntted, for ministration of justice, conforme to the common ordour of thair predicessouris. Bot in this meantyme, the queine gave all the lordis sic giftis, that she bewrayed the most pairt thairof to hir effect, and war content that

the governour should give over his office, and shoe to be put in his place, so the nobilitie consented heirto. So the parliament proceedit as followis: The governour, with his lordis and heraldis, raid up the gait befor him from the abbey to the tolbooth, with sword, scepter, and croun borne befor him. Bot the queine and Monseour Dosell cam vp the gait afterwards be thamselffis, and road in lykmanner to the tolbooth, and remained thair ane quhill till the parliament was fenced: quhairto the governour gave over his office: and the sword, scepter, and croun delyvered to the queine, quha rod down the gait triumphantlie, and the same borne befor her grace be the same lordis quho buire thame vp the gait befor the governour, and thought to signifie to the people, that shoe was thair princes and governour; and the vmquhill governour road down the gait amongst the rest of the lordis, to beare them company. Then the prophecie wes fulfilled, quhilk wes spokin wnto him in the tyme of the burning of Mr George Wishart, saying, "Giue he suffered the servandis of God thus wayes to be handled, and put to death for Christis ewangel quhilk ye profess yourselff, I put no doubt bot the croun and governament salbe rest from yow when ye leist wein." Efter this the queine went

to the abbey with grit mirrienes and banquetting of her lordis, and propyning of thame quho war of hir opinion. Soone thairefter, shoe changed hir officeris of estate, and maid on Mr Ruby comptroller, quho vsed sick rigour in his office, that incontinent he was deposed.

The twentieth aught of Appryll, Francis, the French kingis sonne, called the Dolphine of France, was married vpoun Marie Stewart, dochter and sole air to king James the Fyft, in the citie of Pareis, with great pomp and triumph.

Not long after this, ane parliament was holdin at Dumblane be the queine and thrie estaittes of this realme, in the moneth of December, the year of God 1558 yeires: in the quhilk parliament, the French ambassadour desired, in presence of the lordis and thrie estaittes of this realme, that the imperiall crown of Scotland, with the scepter and sword, should pas to France, to that effect, the Dolphine of France might be crowned thairwith, and proclaimed king of Scotland: and also desired the seallis of Scotland to be brokin, and new seallis to be maid to that effect, to joyne the armes of Scotland and France togidder, and all the money that was strikin thairefter to be of the same print, and fardder, and act to be maid, that it could be lesuni to

all Frenchmen to cum and conqueis land with thair money in Scotland, and to mak sail vpoun the coast of Scotland at thair pleasures; taxationnes to be vsed and tane vp be the Dolphine of France, the queine of Scotland, and in thair names. Thir desires and vtheris was proponed and desired in the same parliament be Monseour Doswell, the ambasadour, conforme to the tenour of the letteris sent be the king of France and his counsall. To this the queine and the counsall of Scotland, and the thrie estaittes consulted and concludit to the same as feible corrupted beestis, allured and flattered be the quiene; not knowing the commounweill of the countrie, nor quhat inconvenientis wer to follow heirefter of thir conclusiones, quho granted thair desires rashlie and feiblie, and maid ane act contrair the common weill of Scotland, that the croun, scepture, and sword, should pas to France to croun the Dolphine thairwith, and to be proclaimed king of Scotland, and that the seallis sould be brokin and new seallis maid; and the armes of France joyned to Scotland, and that it sould be lesum to Frenchmen to conqueis landis in Scotland with thair money, and to mak sail vpoun the coastis and seas of Scotland as they pleased.

Bot at this act the duik was not present, bot

maid his protestatioun contrair the same, and lykwayes the earle of Glencairne, and the wholl barrones of Scotland, voted contrair the same, and said the sword, scepter, and croun should not pas out of Scotland, quhill they saw succession of the queinis bodie, etc. Bot the seallis war brokin and maid new againe, and Monseour Doswell gatt the pallace of Linlithgow, with vther landis pertaining to the king: bot the croun was continewed, and yeid not out of Scotland at that tyme.

In the moneth of Appryll, anno forsaid, ane poore man was taine called Walter Milne, be Sir Hew Currie, preist to the bischop of Sanct Andros, and Sir George Strachan, when the said Walter was warmand him in ane poore wyfes hous, and was teaching hir the comandementis of God, and learning hir how shoe should instruct hir bairnes, and hir houshold, and bring thame vp in the fear of God. So thir fornamed preistis tuick him and had him to Sanct Andros to the bischope thair maister, quho incontinent conveined ane number of bischopis, abbottis, and vther kirkmen, in the abbey kirk of Sanct Andros, the tuentie day of Apryll, anno forsaid, and thair pat vp ane freir called Maltman, who maid ane sermon fare from the meaning of the scriptures, and the spirit of God. And when this poore man

hard him, he fell gruffingis on his face, and cryed with ane loud voyce, "alace ! alace ! yon freir he lies !" Then he was accused of heresie, and his aecuser was ane Mr Andro Oliphant, quho said to him, " Heretick, quhy past thou about in sundrie housis teaching and seducing the people to heresie, and learning thame charmes and enchantmentis to hold thame from Godis service ?" " Verilie, brother, I did not so, I held no man from the kirk of God, nor Godis service, bot rather allures thame to the same, with all myne hart, and shews thame the lordis prayer and the beleiff, and the ten commandements, to gare thame understand thair awin salvatioun." " Bot was not thou ane preist, quhy hes thou left the mase ?" " Brother, becaus I could not win my meatt be it, it was so lightlied." Then answered Mr Andro Oliphant, " Was thou not ane preist, and had the cure of Lunen besyd the Readeastle, in Angus, quhairfra thou fled, and on with the called Sir Johne Patrie, servitor to the lord of Innermeath, who was delaitt and given vp to the umquhill cardinall, our maister and vs, as heretickis and seduceris of the people ; and for that cans fled out of the countrie, and was condemned and ordained to be brunt, quhairevir, that yea might be apprehendit, so that we neid no fardder accusation

againes yow at this tyme?" Then Walter answeired, " True it is brother, I served the cure of Lunen, twentie yeires, and I suppose no man in that parochine will plenyie of me, bot will say I leived as ane true Christiane man, and in speciall my lord Innermeath himselff, quho nevir hard me teach erroneous doctrine," Then Mr Andro Oliphant said, " Heretick, quhy hes thow left thy parochine?" He answeired, " Brother, becaus the furious cardinall persecuted me and many mbe, and sought our lyves for the preaching of Godis word, and that caused me to hold myself quyet and gang about and ask my meat for Godis sak, bot yitt my heart could not suffer quhen I came in the hous quhair cursing and swearing was, and blasphematioun of the word of God, bot I wold correct the same, and shew quhat rewaird they would gett that blasphemed Godis name; and oftymes I was vseing my selff in this manner, quhairfoir I was invyed and tane and brought heir." The bischopis said, " Will thow burne thy faggatt, and thy lyfe salbe saiff." Then said Walter Mylne, " That will I not, to grant myselff an heretick, for I am ane poore servand of Godis, quhyllis gangand to bed without my supper, and I desir no more wealth in this world, for I hope my reward salbe in heavin, thairfoir doe with me as

yea think best, for I will abyd your judgmentis. Bot better it war to your lordschipis to give me something to my wayff and pure bairnes, quho ar lyk to tyne for fault ; as for my awin pairt, I cair not for my lyfe."

Then the bischopis and preistis laid thair headis togidder, and gave sentence, and condemned this poore man to death ; and syne efter keiped him tuo dayes or thrie, becaus they could not gett ane criminall judge to execut that office. Then the bischope sent for the proveist of Sanct Andros, who was stewart of his regalitie for the tyme, and desired him to execute that man to the death, for he had found him guiltie. The proveist answered and said, " That will I not, my lord ; I will have nothing to doe to trouble the servandis of God, nor to give judgment on thame, nor to burne thame. Bot ony vther thing perteaning to my office I will use it, and stand guid for it, according to justice, and that will I doe at your command ; bot I will not mell with that innocent man, who is Godis servand, that preachis his word." Then the bischope answered and said, " Proveist, yea know yea ar my judge, and stewart of my regalitie, yea ought to judge all sick as transgressis within my boundis." The proveist answered and said, " It is of trueth, and if your Lordschip pleasis,

I will tak him and give him ane fair assyse of temporall men, and perchance cleynge him of all dittay and poynttis that yea have pat to him." The bischope answeired and said, "Why not with ane guid will? I am content that yea vse that ordour vpoun him, and mak me quyte of him any way that yea lyk best, for I have no will that he should die at this tyme." Bot some wyse men that war freindis to the proveist, shew him that the matter was perrellous to cleynge him, for the bischopis and clergie had condemned him alreadie, thairfoir bad him be weill adwysed quhat he did, and give the bischope fair wordis in the meantyme, bot have not adoe with that poore man, for he was innocent. The proveist hearing this, desired my lord bischop to continew the matter till the morne, that he might be adwysed heirvpoun, and so he did. Then the proveist went home to his ludging, till on the morne, tymouslie in the morning, he departed aff the toun. Then he was verrie crabed that he was frustrat in that matter, and wist not quhat to doe, and sought heir and thair lang or he could cum to his intent, quhyll at the last, thair was on in his awin court, called Sommervail, ane crepinall of the devill, without aither faith or religion, not having the fear of God in him, tuik the office in hand, and satt

in judgment, and thair accused the poore man criminallie, and condemned him to the death, and thairefter he sought burreouris and towis to bind him; but they could gett non in all the toun of Sanct. Andros, not ane inch of a tow, nather to sell nor to give, in no buith; becaus the merchandis, knawing the same, hid thame all for the lave they buire to the servandis of God. So it was long or they could obtaine fire, poulder or towis. Yitt at length thay gatt all thingis neidfull, and then thei biggit the fire on the north syd of the abbey-kirk, on the high land; and then they brought this poore innocent man out of prisone, and presented him to the fire; and first spoyllid him of his vpmost cloathis, and than stuffed him with poulder, and pat him on the scaffold, and syne in scorneing manner bad him recant. Than he answeired thame againe boldlie, with ane strong and mighty spirit, "I marvell of your wisdome, yea wood hipocrites, that perturbes the servandis of God, and heapis on condemnation on your owin headis, causles and cruellie condenning thame to the death innocentlie, bot aither the love of God or man. As to me it makis not meikle of my death, for I am fourscoir and tuo yeires bygane, thairfoir be nature I have not long to leive; but if I be brunt at this tyme, thair sall ane hunder bet-

ter nor I ryse off the ass of my bones, and sall scatter the proud pack of yow hypocrites, that perturbis the servandis of God, and quhilk of yow that thinkis yow best, sall not die so worthie a dead, as I die now. I traist to God that I sall be the last in Scotland that sall suffer for this cause." With that he exhorted the people to pray for him, and he for thame, and so recommendit his spirit in the handis of God, and this sacrifice for his sake: And ayme they pulled the tow, and lett him fall in the fyre, and brunt him. This cruell act, quhilk was done for the true religioun in Chryst, was done at Sanct Andros, the twenty-five day of Appryll, anno forsaid.

After this Paull Messane cam in Scotland, and preached at Dundie, and in sundrie gentlemenis places in Angus, and also Fyfe, to witt, in Couper, Lundy, and at Fawayd, and in sundrie vther places, and ministrat the sacramentis of the communion in Lundy and in Couper of Fyfe, and caused the images thair of to be castin down, and abolished the Popis religion, so far as he passed or preached for the tyme, for the quhilk caussis he and they that recept him, and especiallie the men of Dundie, war summondit befor the queine and counsall of Edinburgh, the twentie day of Julij, anno forsaid. Bot he was so assisted be temporall

men, be quhois solistatioun he was continued quhill they saw fardder in the matter :

This same yeir thair occured great warres on the borderes, betuixt Scotland and Ingland, and meikle slaughter maid on both sydis, and was called the Quarter Roadis, quhair thair was ane road maid in Ingland, quhair thair wastain the maister of Marshall, the lord Gray, the maister of Grahame, with sundrie vther gentlmen and barrones, and mony slaine of Scotland, and far moe of Ingland. In this same yeir ane taxatioun was imposit vpoun the kirk men and borrowis, of twentie four thousand pundis, to witt, sixteine thousand pundis to the kirk men, and aught thousand pundis to the borrowis. In the same yeir, the aught day of November, Marie, queine of Ingland, eldest dochter to king Harie the Aught, then vtherwayes called ane vther Jesabel, ane quho persecuted the servandis of God, depairted out of this lyfe, and Elizabeth, second dochter to the king of Ingland, was proclaimed queine of Ingland, France, and Irland, etc. In the same yeir the lord Iveres' brother desired to fight with William Kirkcadie, laird of Grange, ane singular combatt vpoun horsback with speares, and the said Williame was verrie weill content thairof, and to meitt him in ony place he pleised. The day and place appoynted was sett

att * * * * * quhair they mett; weill accom-
 panied on both sydis, to witt, the lord Iveris
 brother was accompanied with the governour
 of Bervick, with all the souldiouris and gari-
 soun thair of, with diverss vtheris gentlmen of
 England. On the other syd, Williame Kirk-
 cadie was accompanied with Monseor Dos-
 well, the king of France' leiftennent, with all
 the souldiouris and garrisone of Heymouth,
 with vther gentlmen of Scotland. Quhen the
 tuo armies war conveyned on both sydis, and
 they decerned, vnder the paine of treasoun,
 that no man should cum near the championes
 be the space of ane flight shott, bot everie ane
 of thame sould have a man to bear his spear,
 and thair sould be tuo trumpetters, and tuo
 lordis to be judges to sie the matter finisched.
 And when all thingis war put to ordour, and
 the championes horssed, and thair speares in
 thair handis, then the trumpetters soundit, and
 the heraldis cryed, and the judges leitt thame
 goe, and they ran togidder verrie furiously on
 both sydis, bot the laird of Grange rane his ad-
 versar, the Inglisman, throw the shoulder blaid,
 and aff his hors, and was woundit deadlie, and
 in perrill of his lyff. Bot quhidder he died or
 leived I cannot tell, bot the laird of Grange
 wan the victorie that day.

In this yeit begane the vproar of religioun;

for all the gentlemen and commounes war inclined to the hearing of Godis word preached, quhairby the bischopis and the wholl clergie of Scotland was verrie effeired, and conveyned ane provinciall assemble att Edinburgh, in the Blakfeiris, and thairto summondit all bischopis, abbottis, pryouris, persones, viccares, freiris, and all that was of thair religioun, to sit and consult quhat was best to be done againes the vptour of the protestantis, and thair new religioun, and quhat might suppres and sett down the same most easilie for the commoun weil and proffit of the Pope's kirk. To that effect they maid many actis and constitutiones, and first, that no man sould have ane benefice of the kirk but preistis; secondlie, It should not be lesun to no kirk man to vse whordome, quhilk if he did, for the first fault he should pay great sowmes of money, and for the second fault he should lose his benefice. To this act opponed the bischope of Murray, who was ane great whormaister all his dayes, and committed fornicatioun and adulterie, both with maidenis and menis wayffis, saying he would not put away his whoor more nor the bischope of Sanct Andros; and that it was als lesun to him to have a whoore as he. Fardder, they maid ane act that Sir David Lindsaye's baik should be abolished and brunt. In this meane

tyme thair came ane ambassadour from the
 kirk, to witt, Johne Erskine of Dun, quho so-
 listed the bishopis, for the love they had to
 God, that they would leive aff thair pryd and
 rigour that they had towardis the religioun,
 and the poore professouris and preacheris thair
 of, and that they might be content to serve
 God according to his commandementis, and
 that they would be contentit to have the co-
 moun prayeris in all parish kirkis for a quhill,
 quhill they saw sardder. Bot to this the bi-
 schopis would give no guid answeir, they war
 so glorious and so proud, thinkand they had
 both the queine and the king of France vpoun
 thair pairt, so that they cared not Chrystis
 evangell, but presumptuouslie kest thame to
 thair awin libertie and the Pope's traditiones.
 But it became of thame as it did of Lucifer;
 quhen he satt highest in the heavines he of-
 fendit against the majestie of God, he was
 suddenlie dejected and castin down to hell; and
 so becam of thir presumptuous and hipocriti-
 call bishopes, quho would not grant no liber-
 tie to the servandis of God to serve ther ma-
 ster. Bot in short quhill thairefter thair durst
 not ane mese be said in Scotland, in publick
 place, nor no bishopes, frieris, preistis, cham-
 nones, durst weir nuikit bannettis, nather durst
 they put on surplices nor collis, nor durst not

presum to gange to ane pulpitt vnles he recantit the Pope's religioun and becam ane trew protestant. But we will leive thame and returne to our historie.

The queine sieing the vproar of religion and the evangell preached abroad, and the lordis supper ministrat according to Chrystis institution, hir majestie and the bischopis consulted togiddar, and concludit to summond Paull Mefan, Johne Willox, William Heart, and Johne Douglas, againe to compeir att Edinburgh, vpoun ane certane day, to be accused as seduceris of the people. Bot be moyane of the laird of Dun they escapit, and war not summondit at that tyme. Notwithstanding, the queine and clergie war commoved highlie be the protestantis, that they brak thair promise to thame, and keipit nevir a word that they spak, bot patt the precheris of Godis word rigorouslie to the horne, and chairged sundrie barrones and gentlmen that fortified thame to waird. Bot they disobeyed, and tuik it planlie vpoun thame, and monie of the gentlmen of Fyfe conveined at St Johnestoun, and some of Stratherne, and some of Angus: to witt, of Fyffe, the Maister of Lindsay, the lairdis of Lundie, elder and younger: the lairdis of Abbottishall, Newhall, with many vther gentlmen and comones, quho past haistilie and des-

peratlie to Sanct Johnstoun, rather to jeopard thair lyves in defence of the evangill, nor to sie thair brether put to paines, and the true evangell abolished. Thairto, they convened at Sanct Johnstoun 1559 yeires, in the moneth of Appryll, and thair preached the evangell of Chryst oppinlie be Johnne Knox, and syne when they had dyned efter noone, passed to the kirk againe to the sermon, and efter the sermon was done, gave command to cast down the idollis of the kirk, that is to say the altares, images, and all vther vaine idollis, quhilkis was done haistilie, and thairefter, that same night, passed to the bridge of Sanct Johnstoun, and thair held ane counsall, and called vpoun the servant of God, John Knox, and caused him mak his prayeris to the almighty God that he might give thame ane true and godlie counsall, conforme to the glorie of God and his will, to sett out and defend his true kirk and the glorie thereof: and syne it was concludit amongst thame, that they should pas immediatlie to the charter hous of Sanct Johnstoun; bot the pryor thair of knew of thair comeing, and that they war purposed to the same, he brought certane of his Highland men out of his landis of Atholl, to defend his place if it war persewed. Thir men stieing

great appeirance thair of, and that they war lyk to be put in ane strait in defence of the place, and cam to the pryour, and desired of him, thair wayffis, and thair eldest sones, to be put in thair takis induring thair lyftymes, and if he wold doe that, they would defend his place, and fight and die in defence thair of, bot the pryour gave thame nothing bot ane repulsat answeir. Then they desired the pryour to fill the wyne and give thame thair fillis of the best drink to incourage thame, bot he would not grant nothing to thame bot salt salmond and thine drink, quhill caused thame to tyne courage quhen they had most to doe. Then the Congregatioun send ane ambassadour to the pryour, desiring him to leive idolatrie, and to leive according to the written will of God. And the ambassadour that went to him was the laird of Moncrieff, quho was verrie neir of kin to the pryour, beleivand that he should drese him at thair desires and pleasouris. Nevirtheless, he gatt nothing bot ane proud vnhonest and vngodlie answeir, saying, he would not apply to thair will and pleasour at that tyme, quhill he war fardder adwyssed. So the laird of Moncreiff returned againe to the Congregatioun, and desired thame to doe with the pryour as they pleased, for he could gett no ordour of him. So the Con-

gregation past in all haist to the Charterhous, and took the pryour, and spoylled the place, and gave the spoyll to the toun. Vpoun the morne thairefter, they kest down the hous evin to the ground. Thairefter, past to the Grayfreiris, and the Black freires, and to the freiris of Tullilum, and kest thame all down.

In this meantyme, the queine was in Stirling, and heiring of thir newis, was verrie angrie thairwith, and awowed to God, that shoe should punisch that dead; and to that effect, shoe sent to the duik and desired to speak with him to have his counsall, quho cam haistilie to hir with all his forces to sie quhat was hir will. Then the queine said to him, "I marvell of yow, my lord, yea being second persone of Scotland, and none betuixt yow and the auctoritie bot my dochter, quho hes no successioun as yett, and I bot ane voman, quho knaws not the nature nor facilitie of men in Scotland, and I beleive they stand no aw of me, becaus I am bot ane voman, and thairfoir I marvell of yow, that will not help to correct thame that so abussis the commoun weill and policie of the countrie in casting down of the saidis abbeyis and religious places, and abolishing the libertie of the holy kirk. I think it is your dewtie and your brotheris to defend the kirk als fare as yea may, that I had no-

thing to do thairwith." Be thir fair and sub-
till wordis, shoe brought the duik to hir pur-
pose, so that he with his wholl forces, kin, and
friendis cam fordwardis to Sanct Johnstoun :
bot the first night they cam no fardder nor
Arthirardour with the hoast, and thair re-
mained the space of sewin or aught dayes,
quhill artaillie cam out of Edinburgh and
Stirling. In this meantyme, word cam to
St Johnstoun that the queine was coming
thair to destroy the same and the citizenis
thairof, quhilk was verrie displeasent to the
Congregatioun : and raised all that they might
be in Fyfe, Angus, Stratherne, and Mernes,
and some in Lothiane, and send ane post in-
continent to thair freind and brother, the earle
of Glencairne, desiring thame to cum in all
haist to defend Godis caus, declairing to him
quhat caice they stood in. And he lyk ane
true Christiane, inflamed with love and cha-
ritie to his brethreine, raised all that he might
be, and cam fordwardis to the number of aught
hundreth men, and spaired no travell quhill he
was within tuo mylles to Sanct Johnstoun, and
the queines men and the Frenchmen being in
Arthirardour for the tyme, and taking vp
thair armie and coming to Sanct Johnstoun,
word cam to thame that the earle of Glen-
cairne was come to Sanct Johnstoun with ane

great host both on hors and fute, to the number of tuo thousand men, viz. ane thousand horsmen, and ane thousand footmen, to assist the Congregation. The queine and the duik heiring thir wordis, war not content heirwith, and also effeired, knawing that the earle of Glencairne wold defend the Congregation, and so meikle the rather, becaus the duik and all his war in the contrair : and also thair cam word to the queine that they war thrie thousand men weill arrayed in thrie battellis, standing vpoun the Inch of St Johnstoun, and had twentie shott of guid artaillie with them : and was coming all fordwardis to meitt hir, having avowed to fight thair to death in Godis caus rather than to be punished be Frenchmen, quho was strangeris to thame ; and in signe and token, the most pairt of thame pat six quarteris of aue tow about his neck, that if he fled, he should be hanged thairwith ; and if thei overcame thair enemies, the Frenchmen, they should hang thame thairwith. And fardder, they left the earle of Glencairne with tuo thousand men to keip the toun of St Johnstoun, to be ane releife to thame if neid war. Quhen the queine, governour, and counsall, hard thir newis, they war not content thair of, knawing that they had not men anew to doe at that time, nor to give thame

battell: thairfor, they consulted to send tuo ambassadouris to the toun to the Congregation, to witt, the earle of Bothwell, and the queines brother, lord James, quho desired to tak vp the matter to freindis, and the queine chosed the earle of Argyle and lord James. The Congregation was weill content thairwith, and chosed for thair pairt the earle of Glencairne and the laird of Dun. So thir four tuik vp the matter, and contracted, that the Congregation should leive the toun of St Johnstoun, wode frie, readie to ressaive the queine thairin, and als many Scottismen as shoe pleased, provyding alwayes that no Frenchman entred in the toun with hir grace, nor [cam] neir hand the same be thrie mylles, and that the queine should not molest nor trouble any inhabiter within the toun, bot re-poise hir thair tuo or thrie dayes, and than leive the toun as shoe fand it. And to this effect everie man of the Congregation left the toun and past home to thair awin dwellingis; and the queine cam to St Johnstoun, and was thankfullie receaved, and weill intertained be the head men of the toun, and so was my lord duik. Bot fra the queine had remained thrie or ffour dayes, shoe brak hir promeis to the Congregation, ffor shoe caused the Frenchmen com to the toun, quho perturbed and

spoylled the same, and than shoe called the magistrates of the toun to vnderly the law for sick thingis as shoe had to lay to thair chairge, and thair dischairged my lord Ruthven of his proveistship, and maid the laird of Kinfawnes proveist and captane of the toun, and gave him chairge of certane bandis of men of warre, to keip the toun at hir pleasour, and banished all that war of the Congregatioun, and special-lie Patrick Murray, with his brether, and bail-lies of the toun. Thairefter shoe past to Stirling with hir men of warre and artaillie, and syne returned to Falkland thairefter, and thought to have come to Couper of Fyfe and Sanct Andros to have distroyed thame. But in this meantyme the earle of Argyle and lord James, sieing that the queine had not keipit hir promise to the Congregatioun, they cam both to Sanct Andros, and adjoyned thame-selffis to the Congregatioun, and thairefter caused mak proclamationnes throw all Fyfe, Angus, Stratherne, Mernes, and Buchane, and all that would cum to thair support, that war faithfull brethreine, showand to thame that the queine was purposed and in readines to cum out of Falkland to Couper and Sanct Andros to distroy thame, and the protestantis thair of. Be this meines the Congregatioun gathered fast, and cam to Craill and kest down the ima-

ges and altares thair of, and brunt the ruill, etc. and on the morne thairefter cam to Sanct Andros, and reformed the kirkis, and kest down the altares and images, and all vther kynd of idolatrie, the bischope being in the toun in his castle: they caused Johnne Knox preach openly. The bischope sieing this, stail out of the toun, and escaped verrie narrowlie with his lyff, and past to Falkland to the queine, and shew hir the manner how the earle of Argyle and lord James ruled the Congregationis, and how they had distroyed all the kirkis of Sanct Andros, Craill, and the coast syd. The queine was highlie commoved at this, and shew the duik the manner thair of: and so they maid proclamatiounes throw all the countrie, chairing all manner of men to follow the queine to Couper and Sanct Andros, and commandit hir men of warre to be in reddines to pas with hir upoun the morne to go forward, etc. But the Congregation, heiring of this, prevented the tyme, and marched out of Sanct Andros to Couper, to the number of thrie thousand men, and the men of Dundie, Eyfe, and Mernis, mett thame, to the number of ane thousand men, and remained that night in Couper quhill on the morne that thair trumpettis blew, and they passed forwardis out of the toun to the mare to mett the queine, beleivand that shoe

should have come that gait. Bot the queine remained still in Falkland, and so my lord duik and Monseour Doswell, with hir armie, to the number of thrie thousand men, with tuo thousand Frenchmen led by Monseour Doswell, and ane thousand led be my lord duik, and also the Frenchmen had six shott of artaillie with him, quho cam pearthlie fordward to Tarbat mayne, quhair they stood in hoyer, and tuik consultatioun quhat was best to be done, In this mean tyme Patrick Learmonth, quho was proveist of Falkland, and the laird of Dairsie, cam with ane guidlie companie of fyve hundreth horsmen to the Congregatioun, quhois coming gave thame glaid comfort: so that they marched fordward and pat thair men in arrayed battell, and stood still fornent thair enemies. The Frenchmen sieing sick number arrayed in fyve great battellis, quhair of tuo was horsmen and the rest footmen, thairfoir they send the post haistilie to Falkland to the queine, to sie quhat shoe would command thame to doe, showand the Congregatioun was sick ane number they might scarcelie deall with thame. The queine heiring this, sent away my lord Marschall and my lord Lindsay incontinent to treat guid wayes. Bot the earle Marshall, or he cam mid gait, tyred and grew seik, that he might doe no guid at that tyme.

Quhidder he was fled or seik I cannot tell, bot he cam no fardder nor the bridge of Sheillis, bot passed home againe. Bot the lord Lindsay and the laird of Wauchtoun cam fordward to the Congregation, and thair hors might not beir thame, quho was then standing in Couper mure in arrayed battell, and had chosine fyve hundreth of thair best horsmen to prik and hold in the French vncome over the watter of Eden. Bot the lord Lindsay and the laird of Wauchtoun fell in reasoneing with thame, and requyred of thame gentlie quhat was thair myndis, or quhat thought they to doe; or would they wair thamselffis quho war worthie gentlmen, vpoun men of warre and souldiouris of France, meaning be the earle of Argyle, lord James, the maister of Lindsay, and vtheris, etc. Then the lordis of the Congregation said, " Quhat sall we doe, sieing they will not lat ws allane, bot wreakand our brethreine, and distroyand our tounes, and such as professis the true religioun; thairfoir we ar aither determined we will fight with thame, or els latt thame depairt the gaitt they cam, and perturb ws no more."

With this answeir passed the lord Lindsay and the laird of Wauchtoun to the vther syd of the watter, quhair the queines armie was in arrayed battell, readie to come fordward. So

the lord Lindsay past to the duik quhair he stood, saying to him, " I marvell of yow, my lord, that is so furious and will not be counsalled, that yea ar bound to distroy yourselff and all your kin and freindis; yea and your awin blood, quho will defend yow if neid beis, and that for pleasour of your enemies; consider yea not that yea ar young laird of Scotland, and yonder is your kin and freindis, quho will assist yow as said is. Quhairfoir I desir yow that yea would not, for the intysment of a woman, and the flattring of the bischopis, cum againes your awin kin and countrie men, and in speciall againes the earle of Argyle, quho is your sister sone, without consideration that thair caus and quarrell is in defence of the preaching of Christis evangill, and that yea would not, with ane certane of strangeris, put hand in your awin native blood and countrie men, quhilk, when yea have done, the Frenchmen will preas to overthrow yourselff amongst the rest; thairfoir sieing the matter standis so hard with yow, I give yow counsall rather to obey God nor man, and I doubt not bot yea sall be in favouris both with God, kirk, and the Congregation."

The duik heiring thir wordis of my lord Lindsay, was weill content to vse his counsall, quhairfoir the lord Lindsay was verrie glaid that

he had brought the duik to that pas, and prayed him to stand still in that place, quhill he should cum and adverteise him againe. Syne my lord Lindsay past to Monseour Doswell, the French ambassadour, and said to him that the queine had sent him and the laird of Wauchtoun to treat guidwayes betuixt the tuo armies, thairfoir marvelled of him that he was so haistie to march fordward in battell, quhill he had gottin the queines answeir; thairfoir charged him in the queines name, that he should marche no fardder till he had done his commissioun betuixt the tuo armies, according to the queines command. Off this counsall Monseour Doswell was content, and caused his men to stand still, and march no fardder, till he and my lord Lindsay had spokin togidder. Then my lord Lindsay callit togidder the French captanes, that was, Monseour Doswell, de la Chappell, and Monseour Carolus, syne said to thame, "I marvell of yow that ar com heir at the king of France command, to defend the realme of Scotland againes thair enemies of England, and to give the queine our regent guid counsell in all hir affaires, for the weill and proffeyt of his sone, quho should be king of Scotland, and our young queine his dochter-in-law thairof, and now in plaine battell yea ar come againes pairt of the nobilitie of this realme,

and hes stirred vp certane of thame againes
vtheris as appeares to ws, and will caus the on
halfe to wreak the other, quhairby that they
and thair realme may be ane easie pray to
yow or ony other realme. I beleive this be
not the king of France command and will; that
yea wair his men and money to destroy the
nobilitie of Scotland, to witt, my lord Argyle,
and the queines brother, with money vther no-
blemen that is this day on yon ground, quho
is willing to serve and pleasour the king of
France, quhen he hes adoe. For this caus I
give yow my counsall in the name of God,
that yea pas no farther with your armie this
day to persue yon men. For they ar de-
terminat to doe quhat they may in defence of
the protestantis, or yea gett entres in yon
toun to destroy it with your men of warre, con-
sidderring that the queine is not heir in prop-
per persone, and albeit shoe war, they wold
not tholl hir to enter in yon toun, except hir
men of warre war seperat from hir, and that
shoe cam with sick ane train and court as shoe
was vont to doe, thairfoir I counsall yow that
yea mell not with yon men quhom yea sie be-
foir yow, for pleasour of any men, nor tyne
not the heartis of Scotland, becaus yea ar but
strangeris, and procure not the nobilitie of
Scotland to be the king of France enemies,

quho now ar his freindis, quhilk if yea doe, I trust yea sall have no thank of him nor his counsall; and if yea pas fordwaird, yea knaw, haveing the vangaird, and being formost, and yok with the Congregatioun, my lord duik who is heir behind yow in your staill host, will not fail to cum on your backis as the Congregatioun will doe befor your face. It is an old saying in Scotland, "I may weill sie my friend neid, bot I will not sie him bleid:" thairfoir think yea that my lord duik will sie his sister sone, the earle of Argyle, to be murthered by yow, quho ar strangeris, befor his eyne. And besydes this, the Congregatioun ar far stronger than yea ar, as yea sie, and ar fyve for one; and knowis the countrie and the strengthis thair of, better than yea that ar strangeris; thairfor, if yea perrill and lose yourselfis in that matter, the king of France will not be content. And fardder, as I knaw be thair myndis, if yea and the Congregatioun yok, quhosoevir escap yea will not escap Monseour Doswell, for they give yow the wholl wytt that they ar persewed and quarrelled be the queine, and that for pleasures of the bischopis: thairfoir be weill adwysed quhat yea doe in tyme, and tyne not the heartis of Scotland, and guid name that yea have win thairin, and think not that it wil be ane troupe of Frenchmen of warre

that will conquere Scotland. Thairfor vse my counsell."

Monseour Doswell heiring my lord Lindsay in this manner, was some pairt astonished, and conceaved in his mynd that it was true that my lord Lindsay had spokin vnto him. Yitt notwithstanding he moved vp to the hill head of Tarbatt with certane of his captanes, to spy and sie if the Congregatioun was sick ane number as my lord Lindsay said they wer, quhen he luikit about him, and fand it to be as my lord Lindsay had spokin be his appeirance: for the Congregatioun had dressed thame selffis so, that they appeired many moe nor they war. Then Monseour Doswell luikit about him to the duikis hoast, quho war on his syd, and had setled a litle aback, and pairt of thame gone over the watter to the Congregatioun. Then he considdered and tuik suspitionn of the wordis that my lord Lindsay had spokin, and considdered thame to be of trueth, that Scottismen would not sie thair awin defaith. Thairfor Monseour Doswell called vpoun my lord Lindsay, and referred the wholl matter to him and my lord duik, quatevir they would command him; and for his mair suirtie gatt his hand writt, and my lord duikis both, syne passed over the watter to the Congregatioun, to the earle of Argyle and the lord

James, quho gave thair myndis in writt to my lord duik, and the headis and poyntis of ane contract, to be subscriyvit be him and Monseor Doswell. The effect thairrof, that the Frenchmen, with their artaillie should retein back to Falkland againe, and remaine all that night, and on the morne als soone as they might sie day, they should mak out of Fyfe to the Ferries, and pas into Lothiane, and come no more within the boundis of Fyfe, and that the queines grace should grant thame frie libertie of conscience to serve thair God as they pleased, and shoe to ryd up and down Fyfe with her accustomed traine, as shoe thought guid, provyding thair was no Frenchmen of warre in hir companie, and than they would serve hir as thair queine and mistres, conforme to thair dewtie. This being done, within twentie four houres efter they skailled thair armie at the queinis pleasour. This contract was desired be the Congregation, and had to the duk and Monseor Doswell, quho was weill content thairrof, and subscriyvit the same willingly, and aggriet vpoun all matteris, by the expectatioun of man, for all the countrie believed nothing bot battell, and thought that Godis mercie was mair vnto his kirk at that tyme, and steired vp guid instrumentis to pas betuixt and stop battell, and to procur peace.

So the queines armie reteired back againe that night to Falkland, and on the morne to the Ferries, and over the watter as they had promised, and the Congregatioun past that night to Coupar, quhill on the morne. Then word cam to thame, that ther brether war heavilie oppressed in Sanct Johnstoun, and that be the laird of Kinfawnes, and his men of warre, quhom the queine had made captane thairof, quho had spoyled the same, and banished monie of the inhabitantis thairof, quhilk was pitifull to sie.

In this meantyme the wholl number of the Congregatioun past to Sanct Johnstoun, and seidgit it, and pat forth the laird of Kinfawnes, and denudit him of his proveistship. So they lay about the toun thrie dayes, and shott at the toun, and slew manie of thame that war within it; bot without thair was slaine bot on man. And finallie, they gave over the toun, and my lord Ruthven maid proveist againe.

Att this tyme the earlie of Huntliē and my lord Erskin cam from the queine to the Congregatioun to stay the seidge, bot they wold not, bot wan the toun with great jeopardie, and kest down the Gray and Black Freires, and spoyled thame, and reformed the paroch kirkis thairof, and syne tarried ane day or tuo

thair, and rested thame; and thairefter past to Lithgow, and reformed the paroch kirkes, and thairefter they passed to Edinburgh quhair the queine was. And the queine taking ane suspicion and fear of thair coming, shoe past to the castle of Dumber, and hir Frenchmen with hir, and the Congregation remained ane long quhill in Edinburgh at thair pleasour, reforming the kirkis, and casting down the images and altares, and caused the word of God to be published and preached be Johne Knox, Johne Willox, and William Harlaw.

In this meantyme, thair cam ane cunning preacher of the word of God out of England, called Christopher Guidman, quho had beine in Geneva, and was ane man of guid learning; and remained ane long quhill in the college of Sanct Andros.

In this meantyme, and in the moneth of Julij, the queine being in Dumber, thair cam ane post to hir, showing hir, that the king of France was evill hurt in the face with the skelbe of ane spear, being justing in the tyme of his triumphant battellis, and was either dead thair-of, or elis would not live. Att thair tydingis, the queine was verrie sorrie, and was effeired that the Congregation should have dung hir out of Scotland. Thairfoir shoe sent spyes to sie quhat thei war doeing. So the spyes cam

to Edinburgh, and perswaded many of thame returning home to thair awin houssis, quhairfor they returned haistilie, and shew the same to the queine. Then shoe tuk purpose to cum out of Dumbar to Edinburgh. Bot the Congregationn and the tounship being forseine of hir coming, held hir out: and then shoe and hir Frenchmen past to Leith, and fortified it, and maid it verrie strong, for shoe had abundance of victuallis, and many guid men with hir, and the most pairt of the best artaillie in Scotland was in it.

Att this tyme queine Elizabeth of England being perswadit be Godis word and préaching thair of, caused reforme all the kirkis of England, and kest down all the alteris and idollis, with all vther superstitiones that queine Marie had erected in hir tyme, fra the death of king Edward.

In this meantyme, thair was hott skirmishing betuixt the Congregationn and the Frenchmen in Leith, the tuentie day of August, anno forsaid.

In this meantyme, the earle of Arrane, the duikis eldest sone, heiring of the Congregationn in Scotland, left the duikdome of Chattellaroy in France, and cam be land throw Flanderis to Ingland, not knawin be any man till he cam home in Scotland, his

swin countrie, he being furth of the same the space of fourteine yeires. But shortlie thairefter, the duik his father left queine regent, and adjoynd himselff to the Congregation, be the requeist of his sone. And thairefter, the earle of Arrane maid concord, and ag-gried his father and the earle of Glencairne, and also the laird of Reth, and the laird of Grangé, with many other gentlmen quhom his father had forfalt. In this meantyme, the Congregation maid ane proclamatioun to all that would adjoyne thamselffis to tak thair part, to compeir at Edinburgh at ane certane day. So the duik, his sone, and the earle of Glencairne, and the lord Ruthven, and the maister of Lindsay, and all the gentlmen of the Congregation, and borrowis, quho had adjoynd thamselffis to thame, conveint att Edinburgh the fyfteine day of October, and seidgit Leith, and remained thair the space of ane moneth, skirmisching the Frenchmen, bot they could not win the toun. They sieng that, past to the castle of Creichtoun, and seidgit it, and wan it, quhairin they gott great spoyll, and brought it to the toun of Edinburgh: bot onnowayes they could obtaine Leith, it was so strengthed, and they had no guid men of warre to assail the same, and they had no will to jeopard thamselffis on French souldiouris:

and immediatlie they concludit, and sent to England for support, and for the mair securitie, each earle and lord of the Congregatioun writt his awin hand writt to England for support, quhilk was grantit to thame, and the day affixit that they should cum both be sea and land: and thairefter, the Congregatioun left the seidge of Leith, and everie man returned his awin way. Soone thairefter, the queine, my lord Bothwell, and my lord Crichtoun, with the Frenchmen, cam out of Leith, and passed againe to Edinburgh, and caused repair all the alteris and images thair, and say mes daylie in the kirkis thair of, and caused blott away the lordis prayer and the ten commandementis, quhilk wer patent on the wallis: and did great distructioun to the toun, as yea sall heir. For in the moneth of September, anno forsaid, the queine and the Frenchmen past out of Edinburgh to Linlithgow, and to Stirling, and did great skaith and damage thairin, and cam down to the coast syd on fute, and maid great distructioun in Kinghorne, Dysert, and Weimes, and slew all the bestiall thairabout, and hirried ane toun to the laird of Grange, and synd vndermyndit it with poudre, and blew it in the air. In the tyme of the douncasting of this toun and castell, ane Frenchman called Labattie, cam forth

with fyftie soldionris with him to seek viveris, and cam to Dunkeir, and was spoylling the toun : but the maister of Lindsay and the laird of Craighall perceaved the Frenchmen spoylling the toun, called thair servantis togidder, and sett upoun the Frenchmen with good courage, and the French captane Labattie defendit himselff right manfullie with ane halbert in his hand, quhill at the last, the maister of Lindsay mett with him hand for hand, and strak at other verrie long quhill at the last the maister of Lindsay strak him with ane broad sword in the forehead to the braines, and slew him, and many of his souldiouris war slaine, for quhom the queine maid great mone, and especiallie for this Labattie, for he was ane verrie manlie sharp man. Thair was also sum Scottismen hurt that day, bot none slaine. At this, the Congregatioun gathered, and mett at Couper, and remained thair aught dayes. At this tyme the gentlemen of Fyfe tuik thair pairtes : to witt, Weymis, Balmutto, Balvirie, and the abbot of Dumfermling.

Wpoun the twenty four day of Januar, 1560 yeires, the English shipis came to the Firth, and the admiral of thame, called Mr Winter, landit at Aberdour, and remained still in the Firth, quhill the armie of Ingland cam also be land to thame. The Frenchmen being at this tyme in

Weymes, and thair captanes with thame, to quhom thair cam wordis that they war French shipes, quhilk caused thame for joy to lift thair campes, and rin togidder and tak consultatioun, quhidder they should pas to Couper and sett vpoun the Congregation, or elis to gange landwayes to the coast of Sanct Andros, and syne to Couper: for at this tyme the snow was great, they might not cum the neirest way with thair horsmen: and so past over the watter and went to Kincragie, fornent the shipis, and sua for fear left thair roastis at the fire, and retired that same night, but meatt or drink, to Dunfermling againe. But the laird of Grange slew manie of thame or they wan Dumfermling; and the schipis cam vp the watter to Bruntisland, and shott at the castle, and slew sundrie Frenchmen that war within, and wan the castle. Item, the twentie sax day of the said moneth, the Frenchmen be-leivand to have past away, the Congregation cam from Stirling and cuttit the bridge of Tulliebodie, that the Frenchmen should not pas over to mak impediment to thame; thairfoir the Frenchmen remained all that night in Fotherik mure, without aither meat or drink, and many of thame war slaine or they could get the bridge prepared.

In this meantyme the queines brother cam

out of France to Scotland, called the duik of Guise, with aught shipis to support the queine his sister againes the protestantis, bot God send ane tempest and brak the shipis except thrie, quhairin the duik himselff was saiff, and drivin back to France againe, quhilk was the marvellous provisioun of God to saiff his servandis.

Vpoun the threttie day of Januar, anno for-said, the queine being in Leith, directed Captane Cullen to the sea, weill furnished with artaillie and men of warre, to support the French men, that war on the vther syd of the watter; bot the captane and his shipis war taine be the Inglismen, quhairat the queine tuik great displeasour, and lay aught or nyne dayes. Not long efter this, the pryour of Sanct Andros, the maister of Lindsay, and the laird of Grange, past to Waster Weymis, and tuik the laird thair of, and also the lairdis of Feild, Muthane, Balmuthie, and Balgonie, and had sum of thame to Sanct Andros, and keiped thame thair.

Vpoun the feird day of Februar, the gentlemen and borrowis of Fyfe that tuik pairt with the queine, cam to Sanct Andros and subscrivit with the Congregatioun, and then vpoun the sewint day the pryour of Sanct Andros, with the rest of the lordis and barrones of the Con

gregation past to Glasgow to my lord duik and his sone, and thair tuik consultatioun of thair comeing to Edinburgh, to meitt the Inglish armie.

Vpoun the tuelf day thair of, the Inglish shipis tuik tua French shipis coming to support the queine. Att this tyme thair cam seventeine Inglish shipis that cam out of Bervick to thame, that was heir befor, and lay and keipit Inchkeith, that non should furnisch it. Heirefter, vpoun the seventeine of Februar, the Inglish shipis tuik ane other French ship coming to support the queine, with horse and money, and had her away to Bervick shortlie. Schortlie thairefter, vpoun the tuentie day of the said moneth, the queine furnisched ane great ship to pas to France with wryttingis, quhilk was also interrupted be the Inglismen.

In the moneth thairefter, the lord Ruthven, the pryor of Sanct Andros, the proveist thair of, and the laird of Pitterro, with fourtie gentlemen in Fyfe, shipped at Pittinweyme, in ane Inglish ship called the Hound, and sailed to Bervick, to bring in ane armie be land of Inglismen, and to confirme the bandis maid betuixt thame and the Congregation of Scotland. Vpoun the first day of March, anno forsaide, the lord Ruthven with the rest past to

Berwick, and cam home againe, and brought with thame vther ten shipis, quho landit at Pittinweyme. Vpoun the tent day thair of, the earle of Huntlie, with the barrones and gentlemen of the north, cam to Sanct Johnstoun, and thair mett my lord Arrane, my lord Lindsay, and the pryor of Sanct Andros, with the rest of the Congregation being thair present, and consulted vpoun certane bussines concerning thair affaires, the space of thrie dayes, and thair they refuissed the queine, and subscrivit with the lordis of the Congregation, and syne depairted home. Vpoun the elliventh day thair of, thair was ane conventioun at Coupar, of all the lordis and gentlemen of Fyfe, and it was concludit, that they should all pas and meitt the Inglis armie at Haddingtoun, with the rest of the Congregation, to seidge the toun of Leith, the queine and hir assisteris being in it; and also caused proclame lettres throw all the realme, that all manner of men sould be in Leith the tuentie day of March, with threttie dayes victuallis, vnder the paines to be reput partakeris with the Frenchmen, and enemies to the Congregation.

Vpoun the tuentie sewint day of March thairefter, the Frenchmen past forth to Glasgow, and remained there thrie dayes, and did great skaith thairin. In this meantyme, my

lord duk seidged the castle of Sempill, with four thousand men, and wan the same. That day the Frenchmen cam to Glasgow, to have maid support to my lord Sempill. Sna the Frenchmen war disappoyntted of thair purpose, but on no wayes wold the protestantis fight with thame, because the Inglismen war cum in Scotland for thair support. Vpon the 28 day thair of, the wholl lordis and barones that war on this syd of Forth, passed to Stirling, and be the way kest down the abbey of Dumfermling, and when they cam to Stirling, to have had entres, the Frenchmen that wer in the town would not suffer the Congregation to enter thairin. Sna they cam back againe to the castle of Campbell quhill the Inglismen is incoming. The Frenchmen also sicing thair depairtur from the town, cam out also, and cam to Leith, and vpon the morne thairefter the lordis cam to Stirling againe, and out of that to Lithgow, and remained thair till the wholl number of the Congregation mett and conveined togidder. But or the Frenchmen wan to Leith out of Stirling, thair was slaine about thriescoir of thame. The first day of Appryll, the wholl Congregation mett the Inglisch armie at Hadingtoun and Aberlachie, quho war in number aught thousand men; and the same day queene regent

past to the castle of Edinburgh. Heirefter, vpoun the sext day, the Inglismen skirmished the Frenchmen att Lastelrig, and dang thame perforce to the toun of Leith, and slew sixscoir of thame. Att this tyme cam of Inglismen at sundrie tymes, with my lord Gray of Inghland, and my lord Talbott, twelff thousand men, by the shipis, wha war threttie saillis. Vpoun the thretteine day of Appryll, the toun of Leith was closed in sick forme, that no man might aither pas in or out; and the seidge was laid to it in sundrie pairtis, with tuelff cannone, by tuentie schott of small peices. Vpoun the 15 da y the Frenchmen past out of the toun to the trenchis, quhair the Inglish quhyt cloaks slew ane hunder of thame. Thairefter, vpoun the sewinteine day thairof, the Inglish shipis cam to the peir of Leith, on the night, and the Frenchmen beleived that they would land, and the said shipis shott among thame, and slew fourtie of thame. Vpoun the 20 day, the principall blokhous within Leith, callit St Anthonies kirk, was dung down with cannone, and als the high kirk where the viveris lay, and many vther houssis upon the east syd of the toun. Vpoun the 28 day thairof, the Inglismen gave Leith ane allarum, and slew that night about fourscoir Frenchmen. Vpoun the 30 day thairof, the Inglismen

brunt the mylne within the wallis, and brought with thame the wholl guides that war within the forth. Vpoun the 3 day of Maij, the Inglismen with the Congregatioun past to the other syd of the watter of Leith, besyd Bonitoun, and trenched thair, and condemned the blokhous besyd the mylne of Leith, and also the bridge. Vpoun the 5 day of Maij, the Inglismen with the Scottismen of warre gave the toun ane assault on the night, bot the ledderis war short, and so our men war disapoyntted, and mony slaine on both sydis, be the shott of cannone, and vther peices schotting at the wallis, and so incontinent the Inglismen left the toun and send to Bervick about moe men, and ledderis, and upoun the 13 day, the men and ledderis cam out of Barvick to the camp, quho war in number fyve hundreth men. Vpoun the 21 day thair of, thair was ten shipis coming out of France to support the toun of Leith. The English shipis perseiying thame went to thame and tuik four of thame, and dang the rest againe, quhairby the Frenchmen war put by thair purpose. Vpoun the 25 day thairefter, the Frenchmen ished out of the toun of Leith, bot they war dang in againe as a befoir, and tuentie four of thame slaine. Vpoun the

gaine to Edinburgh, and caused mak ane proclamation, that all bischopis and prelattis should be in Edinburgh the xx day of December, and sa the haill estaites conveined in Edinburgh, and talked vpoun matteris of religioun, and finallie it was concludit, that all bischopis, abottis, and deames, should have bot ane small pairt of thair living, and the rest should be givin to the ministeris and the poore. Att this tyme the wholl kirkis conveined thamselffis, with all thair assisteris, and my lord Bothwall was thair captane, and thought to have perswadit the queine to have proclamed the mese vp againe, bot God caused thame to be put by thair purpose, and faine to skail aff the tonn of Edinburgh, and the Congregatioun prevailed.

Wpoun the 21 day of Januar 1561. yeires, the queine past to Seatoun, and remained thair four dayes: and lord Johne, pryor of Codinghame, was married vpoun the earle of Bothwallis sister. Wpoun the tent day of Februar thairefter, the pryor of Sanct Androis, quho was called lord James, was married vpoun the earle Marshellis dochter, in the abbey of Holirudhous, and thair was nyne gentlmen of Fyfe maid knyghtis. Vpoun the 15 day thairof, ane ambassadour cam out of Suethen to the queine's grace,

and desired licence to the king of Suethen to cum in this realme, and it was thought to have the queine in marriage: and vpoun the 28 day, the ambassadour gatt his answeir and depairted. Upoun the third day of March the queine past out of Edinburgh to Dumfermling, and syne to Dysart, and to Durie, and the sixth day of the said moneth cam to Sanct Andros, and remained thair ane space. And vpoun the 21 day of the said moneth shoe came to Coupar of Fyfe and Falkland, and syne returned to Sanct Andros.

In the yeir of God 1562 yeires, the earle of Bothuell, with vther gentlemen, cam to Falkland to the queine's pallace, and thought to have poysoned the queine; and it was aggried that they war put to the castle of Edinburgh, in prisone with Mr Gawane Hamiltoun; and als my lord Hamiltoun, wes put in presone; and it was alledged that my lord Arran in his mirrines suld opin this conspiracie, quhilk wes not of weritie. Vpoun the first day of Aprill, the queine came to Couper, and syne to St Androes. Efter this my lord Hamiltoun send ane letter to the queine, desyreing hir grace that she wald let forthe his sone, the erle of Arran, my lord Bothwell, and Mr Gawane Hamiltoun, vpoun caution, quhilk desyre wes

refuissed. The duik seing this, he came to St. Androes himself, bot his trawellis wes in wane, so he departed againe to Hamiltoun; and thairefter he wes charged be the quein to giue ower the castell of Dunbartane, quhilk wes obeyed, and the quein maid ane servand of hir awin captane thairof.

Att this tyme the congregatioun of France raise and distroyed the wholl kirkis, images, and altares of Rowand, with many other tounes, and thair captane was the prince of Condie, and war passing to Pareis to doe the lyk, bot the papistis rose, with thair captane, the duik of Guyse, againes thame: bot the victorie inclyned to the prince of Condie. In the same yeir, and in the moneth of Appryll, the king of Suethane's brother cam in Scotland to Sanct Andros, desiring marriage of our queine to the king his brother, bot he gott deferring answers. Efter this the queine past out of Sanct Andros to Lochlevin, and syne went to Edinburgh. In the same yeir the toun of Rowand was seidgit be the king of France, quho wan the same to the gritt discontentment of the protestantis.

Upoun the 15 day of Maij thair cam ane ambassadour out of Suethane, being verrie weill accompanied, and gatt presents to the queine in Edinburgh, and was honorable res-

saived in the abbey of Holyrudhous; and the same day my lord Fleming was married honorable.

In this same yeir was ane feild in Normandie, betuixt the papistis and protestantis, and great slauchter maid on both sydis, and the prince of Condie was taine.

Upoun the 20. day of Maij the laird of Ledingtoun, the queine's secrittair, past to Ingland for certane affaires concerning the queine's grace hir passing to Ingland. Wpoun the last day of Maij the Suethanes ambassadour departed out of Scotland, and the queine gave him ane chaine to the value of ane thousand crounes. The tent of Julij thairefter the congregatioun and the papistis in France mett togidder at the toun of Orleance, quhair thair was great slaughter maid on both sydis, and speciallie on the shavin sort, be the prince of Condie: and the wholl monkis and frieris war destroyed. Att this tyme the duik of Guyse was slaine be his awin servandis, with the shott of ane dag, treasonable, bot his slayer was shortlie takin, and quartered and drawin for the same.

Att this tyme the queine of Scotland and the queine of Ingland should have mett togidder at York, and the nobilitie wairned thair of departed the 24. day of Julij; bot occasioun

stayed thame, for the queine of Ingland had send ten thousand men to the Newheavin for support of the congregatioun of France, and the earle of Warwick leiftennant to thame. In this meantyme the queine tuik hir journey to the Northland, the thretteine day of August, and cam to Aberdene. In this meantyme the earle of Bothwall brak his waird, and cam out at ane window, be ane tow, of the castle of Edinburgh. Wpoun the 20 day of September the queine maid proclamatiounes in the Northland, that all men should be at hir in feir of weir at Aberdein: and this was becaus the earle of Huntlie's sone, laird of Findlater, brak his waird in Aberdene, and held all the castles that pertained to his father and himself, and would not render thame. About this tyme the earle of Huntlie raised ane armie of his freindis, to the number of ane thousand men, and lord Robert, the queine's brother, was send to Dundie and Edinburgh: and not long efter the queine sent fyve hundreth horsmen to France for support of the congregatioun thair. And the 20 day of September the castell of Innernes was won, and the captane thair of, called Gordoun, hanged. Att this tyme Johne Gordoun, laird of Findlater, tuik certane men of warre in the toun of Barnff, of the queine's, and tuik thair veapones from thame. Att this

tyme the earle of Huntlie and he war chaig-
ed to compeir befor hir grace in Aberdeine,
bot they would not obey, quhairfor they war
put to the hornae. The earle of Huntlie sieing
this, cam forwardis with his assisteris, the 20
day of October, to Bamff, and thought to have
cum to Aberdeine and taine the queine; my
lord Murray and my lord Lindsay being in
the town for the tyme. Vpoun the 25 day of
October they past to the feildis, and left the
queine in Aberdeine: and at ane place called
the Bank of Four, otherwayes Coreychie, they
mett the earle of Huntlie and his companie,
and chaiged him with battell, quhair great
slaughter was maid on both sydes. The earle
was slaine, and his sones taine, and monie of
his kin and freindis taine and brought to Aber-
deine. Thair was slaine at this tyme, to the
earle of Huntlie, tuo hundreth: and six scoir
to the queine, or thairby. Alwayes the victo-
rie inclyned to the queine, and hir lordis re-
turned that night to Aberdeine with great joy,
and the dead bodie of the earle of Huntlie was
brought with thame, and laid in the tolbooth
of Aberdeine, that men might sie it. And
vpoun the 30 day of October thair was fyve
gentlemen of the Gordounes hanged, and the
second day of November the laird of Findlater
was headit at Aberdeine. This being done,

my lord Hamiltoun was charged to keep my lord Gordoun, his guidson, suir. Thairefter the lord Hamiltoun raid to St Johnstoun, and spak for him, and gat no answer that pleased him. Vpoun the feird day of November the queine cam out of Abërdeine to Dunnottar, and out of that to Bonnytoun, Ardbroth, and Dundie.

In this same yeir, the earle of Murray cam to the queine at Sanct Andros, becaus he would not consent that shoe should marrie lord Darnely. Att this tyme, thair was ane conventioun at Stirling concerning the marriage of the queine with my lord Darnely, and the most pairt of the lordis granted to the same. In the moneth of Junij thairefter, the queine sent for my lord Murray, bot he was advertised, if he cam, he would be put in waird, so he compeired not. In the same yeir, the earle of Rothes, with certain gentlemen, cam to the Parrat wall, besyd the Dowhill, and thought to have taine my lord Darnely from the queine, comeing to the Queines Ferrie from Sanct Johnstoun. The queine being advertaised heirop, shoe past to the Ferrie or they conveyined, and disappointet thame, quhilk turned to thair great displeasour, for in the moneth of Junij thair was letteris direct to thir lordis and gentlemen to vnderly the law.

Att this tyme, thair cam ane ambassadour down out of England to the queine, desiring the earle of Lennox and his sone to cum in Ingland, or els to tyne the land quhilk he had thair; quhilk was refused. In the same yeir, the lord Darnely was maid earle of Ross, and duik of Rothsay. Att this time, thair was ane parliament proclaimed to the second of September. Vpoun the aught day of Julij preceiding, the queine was married with my lord Darnely, in Edinburgh, in the Abbey of Holirudhous, with great pomp and triumph, quhair the most pairt of the nobilitie was present, except my lord Hamiltoun, quho was governour to the queine in her minoritie, the earles of Ardgyle, Rothus, and Murray. And thair was ane herald sent to thir lordis, to chaarge thame to cum to Edinburgh to the queine, quhilk they refusied, and war put to the horne.

Att this time was ane proclamatioun, that all men should meit the queine at Falkland, the thretteine day of August. In this same yeir, the lord Gordoun and Bothwell war restored againe to thair honouris and landis: and my lord Sutherland was send for to Flanderis. Vpoun the 20 day of August was ane proclamatioun maid in Couper of Fyfe, quhilk summondit all men that was at the Parrat

wall to Dumbarton, to waird, and als pat the earle of Rothus to the horne. Att this tyme was ane vther proclamatioun maid to the 24 of August, that all men should be in readines to pas to Glasgow in fear of warre, to resist the lordis that war at the horne. Schort quhill after this, the queine sent out of Glasgow ane herald of armes to Hamiltoun, to charge my lord Hamiltoun to delyver the same vnder the paine of treasoun. Vpoun the morne after, the lordis quho war at the horne cam to Edinburgh with thair assisteris, and they that war in the castle shott at thame, and than they passed out of Edinburgh to Dumfries; they being advertaised of the king and queines coming to Edinburgh, they passed to Glasgow againe, and thair remained.

Vpoun the 12 day of September, the king and queine maid the earle of Lennox lieutenant of the wast borderis, and thairefter cam to Stirling, Fyfe, and Dundie, and tuik sundrie gentlemen of Fyfe and Angus to put thame in waird, for airt and pairt with the forsaidis lordis who war at the horne. Vpoun the 29 day of September, the king and queine cam to Sanct Johnstoun, and maid ordouris and statutis thair. Att this tyme, the king and queine went to Edinburgh to ane counsell.

About this tyme the earle of Bothwell came home to Scotland out of France in ane pink, and laddit att Codinghame, and gave his presents to the king and queine, with his kinsfolk, and was receaved in favouris; and was made generall lustennent of the borderis.

Vpoun the 8 day of October, the queine ressaived great sowmes of money from the borrowis, and payed ellevin thousand markis, and gatt the superioritie of Leith.

Not long efter the earle of Huntlie was proclaimed earle of Huntlie againe, and that same day, quhilk was the tent day of October, the king and queine, with the whole bodie of the realme, past out of Edinburgh to Dumfries, with certane cairted peices, quhair my lord Hamiltoun, the earle of Murray, Argyle, and Rothus war, bot they heiring tell of so great power, fled in Ingland: and at Dumfries, the lord Maxwell mett with the king, and came in his will, and rendrit tuo of his principall castles that war in those pairtes to the king, and byne returned to Edinburgh. Not long efter, thair came ane Inglisch ship to the firth of Scotland, quhilk was ane verrie great schip, and had twentie shott of brassin peices in hir. Some sayes shoe was to receive the lordis quhe war at the horne, and some sayes shoe came to hold wyte of my lord Bothwall, and

to have tane him vpoun the sea : and the captane of that ship had ane chaine worth ane thousand crounes, and tuo silver tassies, and thairefter depairted to Ingland.

Schortlie efter in this yeir, was proelamation of justice aires to be haldin throw all the shyres of Scotland, quhilk was to punisch thame quhilk tuik pairt with the rebellious lordis. In the moneth of December, thair was ane proclamatioun maid to the twelff day thairof, and that to forfalt the lordis that war in Ingland.

In the moneth of Januar thairefter, came an ambassadour from the king of France with ane commissioun, to mak the king knyght of the cockell, quhilk was done in the same moneth, in the abbey of Halirudhous. In Februar thairefter, the French ambassadour depairted home to France.

Vpoun the 22 day of Februar, the earle of Bothwall was married vpoun the earle of Huntlie's sister. The king and queine maid the banqueitt the first day, quhilk continewed fyve dayes with justing and tornamentis, and thair was maid six knyghtis of Fyfe at that tyme.

Vpoun the 8 day of March, the queine past to the tolbooth of Edinburgh, with sword, sceptre and croun borne befoir hir grace, be

the earles of Huntlie, Atholl, and Crawford, bot the king road not that day; in the quhilk parliament, the earles of Huntlie and Bothwall war restored as said is. Referring the rest to the nixt occasioun of all matteris.

FOLLOWIS THE ADDITIOUN.

CHARLES JAMES, the Sixt of that name, sone to Hendrie Stewart, lord Darnely and Marie, king and queine of Scotland, was borne vpoun the 19 day of Junij 1566 yeires, and the 18 day of December, anno forsaid, he was solemnedlie christened at Stirling: quhose godfatheris war Charles, king of France, and Phebert, duik of Savoy, and the queine of Ingland was his godmother, quho gave ane fent of gold curiouslie wrought and enamelled, weighand thrie hunder threttie thrie vneces, amounting in value to the sume of ane thousand four hundreth thrie pund nynteine shillings, sterling money.

The tent of Februar, in the morneing, 1567 yeires, Hendrie Stewart, lord Darnely, and husband to queine Marie, was murdered shamfullie: the revange quhairof remaineth in the handis of Almightye God.

The twenty tuo day of the moneth anno forsaid, lady Margaret Douglas, lauchfull dochter to the earle of Angus, dochter to king Harie the aucht, countess of Lennox, and mother to

the said lord Darnely, was dischaired out of the Tour of Londoun. And the 29 day of Julij anno forsaide, Charles James, the young prince of Scotland, after ane sermon maid be Johne Knox, was crowned king of Scotland at Stirling, quhair thair was red certane commissiones with the queine of Scotlandis seall at thame, for the establishing of the same, the first for resignatioun of the crown and government of the young prince, his sone: the second to authorize the earle of Murray to be regent during his minoritie: the third to give authoritie and power to sewin other joyneing with the said earle of Murray, in case he should refuse to exerce the same allone; that is to say, the duik of Chatleroy, the earles of Lennox, Argyle, Atholl, Mortoun, Glencairne, and Marre. The commissionis being endit, the bischope of Akellie, with two superintendentis, proceeded to the coronatioun. The earle Mortoun and the lord Home taik oath for the king, that he should rule in faith, fear and love of God, and to maintaine the religion than preached in Scotland. He was then annoynted, and had the royall robe put on him: he had the crown vpon his head, the sword by his syd, and the sceptur in his hand: to the bringing of the everie of which war prayeris maid for everie particular

thing in the Scottish tongue, wherein the wholl ceremonies was maid and done.

The feildis of Tullieangus and Crabstane, was strikin betueine Gordoun and Forbes, in the yeir of God 1671 yeires. In the same yeir was the massacre of France, called the Murther of Pareis.

In the yeir of God 1583 yeires, the earle of Gowrie, lord Ruthven, was execut at Stirling. In the yeir thairefter was the Road of Stirling, and banischmentis of the lordis; and the same yeir was ane great pest in Edinburgh and thairabout, quhair fyfteine thousand persones died. In the yeir 1585 yeires thair was ane great storme of snow in harvest, and the same yeir was the incomeing of the banished lordis, called the Road of Stirling.

In the moneth of Maij thairefter, Marie, queine of Scotland, eschapeing out of prisone, fled into Ingland, and the 16 day of the moneth efter hir escap out of Lochlevin, quhair shoe had been imprisoned, arryved at Wirkingtoun in Ingland, having in hir companie ane small number, quhair shoe stayed, and captane Rid, with fyftie souldiouris, war appoynted to attend on hir, and convoy hir to Carleill, and from thence to Beltoun castle, belonging to the lord Scrupe, who, with sir Ralph Saidler, send down for the purpose, had the custodie of hir till shoe was

committed to the earle of Shrewisberrie. The twentie nynt day of October 1587 thair was ane parliament holdin at Wastminster for try- ing of matteris concerning Marie, queine of Scotland. The sixt of December thairefter, anno forsaide, the lord mayor of Londoun, assisted with diverss earles and barrones, the eldermen of Londoun in thair skarlett robbis, with thair officeris, and greatestt number of thair best accompt about the cittie, to the number of fourscoir of the most gravest and worshipfull citizenes, in coates of welvatt, and chaines of gold, all on horsback, in most solemne and staitlie manner, by sound of four trumpettis, about ten of the cloke in the for- nopne, maid opin and publick proclamatioun and declaratioun of the sentence givin laitlie be the nobilitie againes Marie, queine of Scot- land, vnder the greatt seall of Ingland, beiring daitt at Richmont, the fourt of December, be- ing opinlie red be Mr Williame Sebright, toun clark of Londoun, with ane loud voyce, so- lemnedlie proclaimed by the sergent at armes of the said cittie, in diverss streittis and cor- neris, and namlie in the pallace of Wastmin- ster without Temple Barre, and vther pairtes. The aught day of Februar thairefter, accord- ing to the sentence laitlie givin, Marie Stew- art, queine of Scotland, about ten of the cloke

in the fornoone, was execute, and suffered death by beheading, vpoun ane scaffold sett vp for that purpose in the great hall of Fotheringay, in presence of George Talbott, earle of Shrewisberrie, Hendrie Gray, earle of Kent, principall commissioneris, and vther gentlmen of the countrie adjoyneing, to the number of thrie hundreth persones. Shoe was, as perteaned to ane queine, royallie buried in Pettirborrow.

On the feird day of August nixt following, in the yeir of God 1588, ane navie was sent to the seas, againes the Spanisch Armado, quho war in number ane hundreth fyftie aught saill.

In the yeir following was the Road of the bridge of Die, and the kingis first air in Aberdeine.

In the yeir of God 1590, king James the Sixt was married vpoun Anna of Denmark.

In the yeir of God 1592, the earle of Huntlie slew the earle of Murray at Dunnybirsell. In the same yeir prince Hendrie Fredrick was borne, the nynteine day of Februar, and the same yeir, the aughteine day of August, thair was ane gritt wind that shok the cornes, and be stormes thairefter, that the meill gave aughteine pundis the boll.

In the yeir of God 1596 the feild of Glenlivet was strukin, betuixt Gordoun and Camp-

bell, quhair Gordoun was victour. And in the same yeir Straboggie and Slanes war castin doun, and ane air holdin at Aberdeine.

In the yeir following, the aughteine day of December, was ane vproar in Edinburgh betuixt the king and the kirk. And the same yeir the sune eclipsed totallie.

The 25 day of Februar, in the yeir of God 1598, thair cam ane ambassadour from the king of Denmark to Elizabeth, queine of Ingland, with certane commissiounes from the new king thairof; and to retorne the garter that hir majestie had laitlie bestowed vpon the king laitlie deceased, as the maner of all forrane princes is to doe. He had an audience at the court the sewint of December, anno forsaid, with certane requeistis, such as hir majestie answeired with panes * to everie poynt of thair ambassade. Lastlie, having audience be occasioun on hir majestie's birthday, as he was suirly informed, begane ane eloquent oratioun, saying, he doubted not bot the king, his maister should, in that happie day, have ane happie answeir of his requeistes. Hir majestie answeired saying, "I blame yow not to expect ane reasonable answeir, bot yea

* Or without pane.

may think it ane gritt mirchale how that ane chyld borne at four of the cloak this morneing salbe able to answeir so wyse and learned ane man as yea ar, send from so great ane prince as yea be, about so great and weightie affaires as yea speak of, in ane unknowin tongue, by thrie of the cloak in the efternoone:" And thus, with prudent and gracious wordis, shoe endit, and gave him leive to depairt.

In the yeir of God 1603 yeires, vpoun the 24 day of March, being Thursday, about tua a cloak in the morneing, deceast queine Elizabeth of England, at hir mannour of Richmond in Surrey, shoe being then aiged thriescoir and ten yeires: and had rigned fourtie four yeires, fyve moneths, and od dayes, whose corpes was privilie conveyed to Quhythall, and thair remained till the 28 of Appryll, and was than buried at Wastminster.

It is ane note worthie to be remembrit, that Thursday hath beine ane fatall day to King Hendrie the aught and all his posteritie: for himselff died vpoun Thursday the 28 day of Januar; king Edward vpoun Thursday the 6 of Julij; queine Marie on Thursday the 17 of November, and queine Elizabeth vpoun Thursday the 24 of March.

Vpoun the said 24 of March the lordis spirituall and temporall of the realme, assisted

with those of hir majestie's laitt privie counsell, assembled thaimselffis togidder to tak ordour of the publisching of the queine's depairture, should also be declaired to the comfort of the realme, hir lauchfull successour, and, about ten of the cloak at noone in the same day, which efter the accompt of the church of England, the last of the yeir of Chryst 1602, having proclaimed king James at the court gaitt, entred the cittie of London by Ludgaitt, quhair finding Robert Lee, lord mayor of London, aldermen, and citizenes, they altogidder, with ane multitud of vther guid subjectis, rode to the croce of West Cheape, and on the wast syd thairof, with sounding of trumpettis, caused to be proclaimed king James of Scotland, the Sixt of that name in Scotland, and of Ingland, France, and Irland, defender of the faith, the First, as lauchfull air, lineallie descendit from Margaret, eldest dochter to Hendrie the Sewint, and Elizabeth his wayff, eldest dochter to Edward the Fourt, married to James the Fourt, king of Scotland, in the yeir of God 1503, ane hundreth yeire and more since, who had issue king James the Fyft, father to Marie the First, mother to James the Sext, now king of this wholl illand, Ingland, Scotland, and Waillis, with the realmes of France and Irland. Sir Robert Cecill, principall secretarie, red the

proclamatioun, Williame Dethick alias Garter, principall king at armes, pronounced it with ane audable voyce. From thence they rode into Milk streit, to the hous of James Pembertoun, on of the sheriffis of Londoun, quhair they dyned, and efter satt in counsall. This morneing, being Thursday, was directed in post Sir Robert Carie, knyght, towardis Scotland, to signify in Scotland quhat had beine done in Ingland, which he performed to the king att Edinburgh, vpoun Saturnday at night following, which was the 27 of March, and the first newis to the king of his sisteris death.

This change was verrie plausable, or weill pleasing to the wholl nobilitie, and generallie to all commounes both of Scotland and Ingland, among quhom the name of king was so strange, as few could remember, or had seine ane king befor, except they war aiged persones : considerring that the governament of the realme had continewed neir the space of fyftie yeires vnder the rigne of tuo queines, which is the greatestt pairt of ane mane's aige. Bot tydingis being brought heir in Scotland to the king, he called ane counsall to him in taking ordour for setling all thingis in this realme of Scotland : Begane his voyage towardis Ingland, and did so much, that efter monie dayes journey, and ludging in the houssis of sundrie

noblmen, he arrived at London the sewint day of May 1603 ; and he was ludgit at the Charterhous, making many knyghtis be the way as he cam.

James the First, sone to Hendrie Stewart and Marie, laitt queine of Scotland, borne in Edinburgh castle, begane his rigne over the realme of Ingland the 24 day of March, the last of the yeir 1602 ; and threttie six yeires and better he had almost rigned king of Scotland, in peace with all Christiane princes, which peace he also brought into Ingland : God mak ws thankfull, and grant him in that blissed peace many yeires to rigne over ws.

Diverss prisoneris tuiching the laitt earle of Essex, waŕ delyvered out of the tour of London, naimlie, the earle of Southamptoun, on the tent of Appryll. The 27 day of the same moneth proclamatioun was maid for the apprehensioun of Williame and Patrik Ruthvenes, brethreine to the laitt earle of Gowrie.

The 28 of Appryll the corporis of queine Elisabeth entred in the vault of hir grandfather Hendrie the sevint, in his most bewtifull chappell, most triumphantlie, quhair the reverend father in God, Anthonie Watsoun, bischop of Chester, maid ane learned sermon.

Thair was esteemed of mourneris in black sixteine hundreth persones.

In this meantyme, on the first day of Appryll, king James depairted from Edinburgh attended upon with multitudes of his nobilitie, earles, lordis, barrones, and gentlemen in Scotland, and some Frenchmen, as the French ambassadour being in Scotland, besydis in his traine many gallantis and weill apparelled gentlemen, quho all attendit vpoun him that day from Edinburgh to Dunglese, ane house of the lord Hoomes; quhair he repoissed himselff that night. The sixt day of Appryll his majestie progressed from Dunglese towardis Barvick, having than attending upoun him monie moe nobles, knyghtis and gentlemen, besydis the lordis, wairdenes of the merchis and borderis of Scotland, with several companies to ressaive him. The lord governour of Barvick, also accompanied with the counsall of warre; the constables with thair coronettis of horss, and divers captanes of gentlemen of the land, pentioners and vtheris, advanced fordwart to meitt, entertaine, and conduct his majestie into the toun of Bervicke. This might seem ane strange and happie day, when peaceable so many Inglish warlick gentlinen, went out to bring in ane Inglish and Scottish king, both

includit in on persone, into that toun, which for many hundreth yeres had beine aneemie; or held for the on nation or the other; bot the king of peace hath so ordained it to be. The companies met him, and was gratuslie ressaived of his highnes; so falling in among the other troupes, they sett fordward, and when his highness cam within half a myle of the toun, and began to tak vieve thair of from the castle, cam sick ane tempest as it war thunder. It was crediblie reported, that ane better pale of ordinance was nevir in ony souldieris memorie dischaiged in that place. The king being cum to the yettis, the smoake of gunpowder evainished, and isched out of the toun William Selbie, gentleman porter of Bervick, with vther gentlemen of accompt, and humbling himself before the king presented vnto him the keyis of the portis, quho ressaived thame gratuslie, and being entred within the gaittes, he restored the said William Selbie the keyis againe, and graced him with the honour of knighthood, for his service. This done, his majestie entred the second yett; and being within both the wallis, he was ressalved be the captane of the waird, and so passed throw ane double guard of souldouris, weil armed in all poyntis. Betuixt this guard, his majestie passed on to the mer-

catt croce, quhair the major and his brother ressavd him, with no small signes of joy; bot the commoun people omitted nothing thair power could attaine vnto, and expres loyall dewtie and heartie affectioun, kneilling, shouting, and crying God save king James, till they wer in a manner intreated to be silent. Then Mr. Christopher Parkinsone, the reoord of Barvick, ane man grave and reverend, maid ane brow speach to his majestie, acknowledging him thair sole and soveraine lord, to quhom in name of the rest he surrendrit thair chartour, and presenting his highnes also from thame with ane purs of gold, which, as ane offering of thair love, he gratuslie ressaived, and for thair said chartour he answerd thame, that it sould be continewed, and that he should maintain thair privileges, and uphold thame and thair toun in all equitie, be reasoun it was the principall and first place honoured with his most gratus persone. From thence his majestie passed into the chvrch to humble himself before the exhalter of the humble, and thank him for his benefietes, bestowed vpoun him: att which tyme preached befor him the reverend father in God, Toby Mathew, bischop of Durhame, quho maid a most learned sermon, quhilk finisched, the king departed to his pallace,

and than they gave him ane peall of great ordinance, more nor befor, nevir having king to rest within thair wallis for many yeires befor.

The nixt day being the 7 of Apryll, his majestie ascendit the wallis, quhairvpoun all the commoneris and vtheris, officeris belonging to the great ordinance, stood everie on in his awin place, the captanes with thair bandis of soukdiouris, lykwayes vnder thair collouris, among which warlick trainè his majestie, to shew ane instance how he loved and respected the airt militarie, he maid ane shott himselff out of ane cannon, so far and with such signe of experience, the most expert guneris thair gave it just commendatioun. After this he left that pairt of the wall, and being attendit vpoun by his nobilitie, both of Scotland and England, the lord Hendrie Howard, brother to the laitt Duke of Norfolk, and the lord Cobhame, being newly cum to the toun, and gairdit be the gentlmen pentioneris of Bervick, he bestowed that day in surveying of the fortificationes, commending the militarie ordour of the toun, and so returned to his palace.

The 8 of Appryll the trumpettis wairned for the remove, and all that morneing his majestie with royall liberalitie bestowed among

gentlwoman of the hous, named Mistres Gemisone, he was bountifullie intertained:

The 15 day of Appryll, his majestie sett fordwardis to York, his traine still increased, by the number of gentlemen from the south pairtis, that cam to offer him fealtie, whose love he greatlie tendred: Yitt did thair multitud so oppres the countrie, and maid provisioun so dear, that he was fain to publish an inhibitioun againes the inordinat and daylie accese of peoples comeing, that manie war stopped aff thair way. The high sheriff of Yorkschyre verrie weil accompanied, attendit his majestie to Inglebees, besyd Topcliff, being about sixteine mylles from Walworth, who with great humilitie resaved his majestie, quhair he rested that night.

The 16 of Appryll, his majestie removed towardis York, being sixteine mylles from Topcliff, and when he cam about some thrie myles from York, the liberties of the citie extending so farre, Mr Buckie and Mr Robert-sone, sheriff of the citie, mett him, and with humble dewtie presented him with thair quhyt staffis, which his grace ressaived, and delyvered thame againe. So they attendit him towardis the citie, within ane myll of which, when his highness approached, thair met him the lord Burlie, lord president of the north, with manie

worthie knyghtis and gentlemen of the shyre. These also attendit on his persone to York, quhair, when he cam neir the citie, thair mett him thrie of the serjeantis, Mr Wood, Mr Damfort, and Mr Westrope; quho delyvered thair maces, which his majestie redelivered againe, commanding thame to awaite on him; and the same tyme the sergeant trumpetter and some others, did in lyk manner submit thaimselfis, quhom in lyk manner he commandit to awaite on him. Then he rod till he cam to on of the gaittes of York, quhair the lord maior of the citie, the aldermen, and wealtheiest commounes, with abundance of other people, mett him thair. Ane long oratioun being maid, the lord maior delyvered him the sword and keyis togidder with ane coup of gold, which present, his grace thankfullie accepted, delyvering the keyis againe to my lord maior. Bot about beiring of the sword, thair was sum argument: the lord president taking it to be his place, the lord maior esteeming it to be his. Bot the king demandit the sword, sieing they would not be pleased, that he sould have the dispositioun thair of, quhairvnto they humblye answeired, it was all at his pleasour. His grace delyvered the sword to the earle of Cumberland, quho bare it befor him from the gate to the Minster: in which way, thair was

was ane conduit that ran all day, whyte wyne and claret: everie man to drink als much as he list. From the Minster, his grace went on fute under ane canopy, borne by four knightis, to his awin hous, being in the mannour of Sanct Maries, quhair he was honorablie resaved be the lord Burdie, who gave chearfull intertainment to all his followeris, during the tyme of his continewance in York.

The 17 day of Apryll, being Sunday, the king went on fut to the Minster to hear the sermon which was preached be doctour Thorborrow, deane of York, and bischop of Limerick, in Irland, whose doctrin and method of preaching was highlie by his majestie commendit. The sermon endit, the king returned on fut the same sort that he cam to his mannor, quhair he was royallie feasted by the lord Burghlie during his continwance in that mannor of Sanct Maries. It is said to exceid all the rest in any part of Ingland befoir; buttries, pantries, and sellaris alwayes held opin in great abundance for all comeris.

Monday the 18 of Appryll, his majestie was feasted by my lord maior of York, quhom he knyghted by the name of Sir Robert Waller. Efter denner, his majestie commandit all prisoneris to be sett at libertie, except papistis and wilfull murthereris, and road from York

to Grimston, being ane hous of Sir Edward Stanhopes, quhair he lay that night, and dined the next day.

The 19 day of Appryll, his grace road to Pomfret castle, quhich, when he had viewed, road to Doncaster, quhair he lodged at the signe of the Beare and the Sun. The 20 day of Appryll, his majestie road towardis Warsope, the earle of Shrewisberries hous: and at Battin the high schirreff of Yorkschyre took his leive of the king, and Mr Askoth, high scheriff of Nottinghameshire, ressaived him, and so conducted him till he cam within ane myll of Blyth, quhair his grace alighted, and satt down on ane bank syd to eat and drink: efter which short repast, he road forward to Warsope: bot in the park he was sumquhat stayed, for thair appeared ane number of huntsmen all in greine, the cheife of which, in ane woodmanes speach, did welcome him to show him some game, which he glaidlie condiscendit to sie, and with ane traine, he hunted ane guid space, and went into the hous, quhair he was so noblie and royallis receaved with abundance of all thingis, that still everie intertainment seemed to exceed vtheris. The 21 day of Appryll, his grace tuk his way towardis Newark vpoun Trent, quhair that night he ludged in the

castell, quhair the aldermen presentit him with ane fair gilt cup, which was kyndlie acceptit. In this toun, and in the court, was takin ane cut purs doeing the deid, and being ane base pitifull theife, yitt he was gentlman lyk in the outsyd. This fallow had guid store of coyne fund about him : and vpoun examination, confessed that he had comé from Barvick vnto that place played the cut purs in the court. The king heiring of this gallant, directed ane warrand to the recorder of Newark to have him hanged, which was accordinglie execute ; and all the rest of the prisoneris of the castle was pardoned.

The 22 day of Appryll, his grace road to Beaver castle, hunting all the way as he rode. Att Beaver castle, his highnes was royallie resaved be the earle of Rutland and his countes, and plentifulle intertained.

The 23 day of Appryll, his highnes rod fordwardis towardis Burghlie, and be the way dyned at Sir John Haringtones, quhair that worthie knyght maid him most royall intertainment. From thence, his grace rode to Burghley, quhair his grace with all his traine was receaved with great magnificence : the hous seeming so rich as if it had beine furnished at the chairges of ane emperour. The nixt day, being Easter day, thair preached be-

foir him the bischop of Lincolne, and the sermon was no sooner done, bot all the officies of the hous war sett oppin, that everie man might have frie acces to buttries, pantries, kitchingis, to eat and drink at thair pleasure.

The 27 day of Appryll, his highnes removed towardis Hinchinbrok, to Sir Oliver Crumbvellis, and be the way dyned at Sir Anthonie Mildmayes, quhair nothing wanted in ane subjectis dewtie to his soverane. Dinner and banquet being past, and the king at poynt to depairt, Sir Anthonie presented his grace with ane gallant Barbarie hors, and rich sadle and furnitur suitable, which his highnes thankfullie accepted, and rode towardis Sir Oliver Crumbvellis, and about some halfe mylle or he cam thair, his majestie was mett be the baillie of Huntingtoun, quho maid to him ane long oratioun, and thair delyvered him the sword; which his grace gave to the earle of Southamptoun to bear befor him to Sir Oliver Crumbvellis hous, quhair his grace, with his followeris, with all thair comeris, had such intertainment as not the lyk had beine seine a befor; thair was such plentie and varietie of meattis and diversitie of wynes, and the cellaris opin at everie manes pleasour.

Thair attendit also att Mr Oliver Crumbvellis; the headis of the vniversitie of Cambridge, all cled in skarlett gownes, and corner capes; which having presens of his majestie, thair was maid ane eloquent and learned oratioun in latine, welcoming his majestie, and also in-treating the confirmatioun of thair priuiledges, which his grace most willinglie granted. Mr Crombwaill presenttit his majestie with many rich and acceptable giftis, as ane verrie great and fair vrought standing cup of gold, goodlie horssis, deip mouthed houndis, diverss halkis of excellent wing; and at his remove, gave fyftie pundis of Sterling money among his majesties officeris.

The 29 day of Appryll, efter breakfast, his grace tuik leive of Mr Oliver Crumbwaill and of his lady, laitt widow to Seingeor Paulo Horatio Vicino. From thence he departed to Roystoun, and as he passed throw Gudeman Chester, ane toun close by Huntingtoun, the baillies of the toun, with thair brethren, mett him, acknowledging thair alleadgance, conveying him throw the toun. Thair they presenttit him with thriescoir and ten teeme of horssis, all traced to fair new pleughis, in show of thair husbandrie, quhich, quhill his majestie being verrie weill delighted with the sight thairof, demandit quhy they offered

him so many horssis and pleughis: he was answerit, that it was thair ancient custome, quhensoevir any king of Ingland passed throw thair toun, so to present him: besydis they added, that they held thair landis by that tenour, being the kingis tennentis. His majestie not onlie took weill in worth thair guid myndis, bot bad thame vse weill thair pleughis, being glaid he was landlord of so manie guid husbandmen in on toun. His grace in his way towards Roystoun, the high shirreff of Huntingtoun shyre tuik his leive; and was thair receaved be Sir Edward Deny, high shirreff of Hartfoordshyre, attendit on by ane guidlie companie, in number sewinscoir, suitable apparralled in blew luferay coattis and quhyt doublettis, and hattis with featheris, all monted on horsback, with rich saiddellis. Sir Edward efter his humble dewtie, presentit his highnes with ane gallant hors, ane rich saidle and furnitur correspondent, being of great value; which his highnes accepted grätiouslie, and caused him to ryd on the said hors befoir him. The knyght monted quicklie on the said hors, and in brave manner conducted his majestie to on Mr Chesteris hous, quhair his majestie lay that night on his awin kinglie chairges.

The 30 day of Appryll, his majestie rode to

Standoun, to Sir Thomas Saidleris, and be the way the bischope of London mett him, attendit on by ane guidlie companie of gentlemen in tawnie coattis, and chaines of gold. Att Sir Thomas Saidleris, his majestie was royallie intertained for himself and his kinglie traine: thair his grace stayed Sunday, befor quhom the bischop of London preached.

The second day of Maij, being Monday, his majestie removed to Broxburne, ane hous of Sir Hendrie Cokis, cofferer to the laitt queine Elizabeth, and now also cofferer to his majestie, quhair thair mett him the lord keiper of the great seall, the lord admirall, with most pairt of the nobilitie of the land and counsall of estate, quho war favourablie receaved. Att which tyme, the said lord keiper maid ane breife and learned speach to his majestie, to which his majestie answeired with great grace and princie wisdome. Bot to speak of his grace intertainment at Broxburne, it was such, and so abundant, as thair was no man of quhatsoever condition but had quhat appetit desired; his majestie also ressaiving thair by great contentment: and continewing bot on night, depairted the next day, thanking the guid knyght for his great expensis. The 3 day of Maij he cam to Theobaldis, ane hous belonging to Sir Robert Cecile. Att this

hous, thair mett his majestie all for the most part of the old servandis and officeris in household of the laist queine, and with thame, the guard of his majesties bodie, and all of thame being courteslie ressalved to thair awin content. Also in this hous of Theobaldis, the fourth day of Maij, his Majestie maid divers noblmen of Scotland of his honorabill counsaill, viz. the duk of Lennox, the earle of Morre, the lord Home, Sir George Home, thesaurer of Scotland, Sir James Elphinstoun, secritar to the king : the lord of Kinlose, now maister of the rolls : Also the Inglish nobilitie he maid of his counsaill ; the lord Hendrie Howard, brother to James Howard, late duk of Northfolk ; Thomas, lord Howard, sone to the said duk, quho was also maid thair lord chamberland ; and the lord Montjoy, not then returned out of Ireland. His grace stayed at Theobaldis four dayes, with intertainment such, and so coostlie, as hardlie can be expressed, considdering the multitud that hither resorted, besydis the tryne, non going thence vnsatisfied : The king maid knyghtis thair, as is said, twentie aught.

The sewint of Maij, being Saturday, he removed from Theobaldis towardis London, ryding throw the medowis, quhair, within tuo myllis on this syd Wealthame, on of the she-

riffs of London, called Johne Somertoun, and als sheriff of Middlesex, met his majestie with sixtie men in luferay coattis, quhair ane eloquent and learned oratioun was maid to his highnes by Richard Marteine, gentlman of the Midle Temple. Besydis these men in luferay coattis that attendit the sheriff, all mounted on gallant horssis, most of the sheriffs officeris attendit vpon him, quho conducted the king within some tuo mylles of London, and at Stamfordhill, the lord Maiore of London presentit himselff, with quhom war the eldermen in gownes of skarlett, and chaines of gold about thair neckis, with all cheife officeris and counsall of the citie, besydis five hundreth citizenes, all verrie weill monted, cled in welyott coattis, and chaines of gold, with the chiefe gentlemen of the hundredis, who maid ane guid shaw to intertaine thair soyerane. Thair also mett his majestie, all the officeris of estate, as serjantes at armes, with thair rich maces; the heraldis in thair coattis of armes, and trumpetteris in thair deu place everie on. The duik of Lennox, beiring the sword of honour befor him, his majestie passed over the fieldis, and cam in at the back syd of the Chartour hous, quhair he was most royallie receaved, and intertained be the lord Thomas Howard. He lay thair four nightis, and at his departour maid a-

bont aughtie knightis. The 11 day of Maij, his grace rod in coatch, sumquhat closelie from the Charterhous to Quhythall, and from thence was convoyed by watter to the Tour of London, and thair was attending on him the lord Zouche and the lord Burghlie, sworne the said day privie counsallouris to his majestie, att Charterhous, the lord admirall, the earle of Northumberland, the lord Worchester, and vtheris.

The first day his majestie wiewed the offices in the tour as the armorie, the wardrope, the artaillie, etc. The nixt day he saw the ordinance hous, the mint houssis, and at the last the lyones, etc.

The 20 day of Maij, being Fryday, his grace maid barrones and knyghtis in the Tour, to the number of twelff or thairby. The 17 day of Maij forsaide, proclamatioun was maid againes roberis in the borderis. The 22 day of Maij, his grace knighted Sir Robert Lee, lord mayor of London, and vtheris. His majestie was that day most royallie served, and at night divers fyreworkis on the Theames wer showed for triumph.

Also in the moneth of Junij, thair cam ambassadouris from the Palsegrave of Rhyne, and from the estaittes of Holland and Zea-

land, and from the archduik of Austria, and from the French king, etc.

The second of Julij thairefter, the feast of Sanct George was royallie keiped at Windsor by the king and knyghtis of the honorable ordour of the Garter, quhair the prince, the duik of Lennox, the earle of Southampton, the earle of Marre, and the earle of Pembrok, wer installed.

The 21 day of Julij, wer created at Hampton court, in the great hall, by the kingis majestie, vnder his estat, and the queine present, to the number of thretteine or fourteine earles and barones.

Fryday the 22 day of Julij, the king and queine removed to Wastminster; and on Saturday the 23 the king dubbed knyghtis in his gardeine the judges, serjantis at law, and manie vther, thrie or four hundred: and Sunday, the 24 of Julij, war performed the solemnitie of the knyghtis of the Bath ryding honorable from Sanct James to the court, and maid show with thair squyeris and pages about the tilt yaird: and efter went to the park of Sanct James, and thair alighted all from thair horssis, and went vp to the kingis majestie's presence in the galleray, quhair they receaved the ordour of the knighthood of the Bath.

The 25 day of Julij, being Monday, and the feast of the blissed apostle, Sanct James, king James of England, the First of that name, with the noble ladie queene Anne, war togidder crowned and anoynted at West Minster, be the reverend father in God, Quhytgift, archbischope of Canterburrie, in presence of the nobilitie, and namlie sir Robert Lee, lord mayor of London, in ane gown of crimsoun welvett, his brether the aldermen, in gownes of skarlett, and twelff principall citizenis admitted to attend on thame. Those in the morneing earlie eptred in the maiores baarge at the thrie cranes staires, and was rowed to Westminster. All vther citizenis stayed from passage thither either be watter or by land als much as might be. Fryday, being the fift of August, by commandement of the ordinarie was keiped holyday, with prayeris, bonfyres, and sermones, and all that night all men to praise God for the kingis escap from being murdered be one most wicked tratour, the earle of Gowrie.

The fourteine day of August Sir Williame Dethick, garter principall king at armes, was sent to Petirborrow, in Northamptoun schyre, with ane rich pale of welvett, imborderrèd with the armes of the mightie princes Marie, queene of Scottis, having lettres direct to

the reverend lord, the bischop of Petiborrow, in that behalfe, which palle of welvett imbroidered was by him solennedlie carried, and laid vpoun and over the corporis of the same laitt queine, assistit be many knyghtis and gentlemen, and much people, at the time of divine service; and than the said bischope preached ane sermon in that behalfe in the morneing, and maid ane great feast at denner, and the deane of the same preached in the estirnoone. The said queine of Scotland was royallie and sumptuouslie interred by the said garter on the first day of August 1587.

Upoun the sixt day of November thairefter, the high and mightie prince Frederick, duik of Wortenberge, etc. quho had beine elected befor to be on of the companie of the most noble ordour of the garter, in the 25 yeir of the rigne of queine Elizabeth, which was the day appoyntted for that actioun, the said duik was invested; the robbis, garter, and other ornamentis war performed in the cathedrall church of that cittie; and all the rest of that day was spendit with great feast and triumph, verrie admirable to beholderis.

The 15 day thairefter, king James, queine Anne his wayff, and Hendrie Frederick, the prince, past triumphanthe from the Tour of London throw his royall cittie and chamber

of London, to Westminster. The companies of the cittie, martialled according to thair degrees, war placed, the first beginning at the upper end of Mark lane, and the last reached to the conduit of Fleit Streit, or thairabout, thair seattis being doubliè railled; vpoun the vpper end, quhair of they leaned the streameris, ensignes, and banneris of each particular companie, decentlie fixed, and directlie againes thame quyt throw the boddie of the citie, so high as Temple bar, ane single rail, ane fair distance from the other, was lykwayis erected to put off the multitud: the king richlie mounted on ane quhyt gennett, vnder ane rich canopy, susteained be aught gentlemen of the privie chamber, for the barrones of the Cinque Portis, entered his royall citie of London, and passed the same towardis Wastminster, throw sewin gaittes, off the which the first was erected at the east end of the Fenchurch; over the which gaitt was represented the true liknes of the notable houssis, toures, and steiples, within the citie of London. The second gaitt, a most sumptuous peice of workmanship, was loftilie raised in Grase streit be the Italianes. The third gaitt, vpoun Cornehill by the Exchange, representing the sewinteine provinces of Belgia, or the Duch natioun; and by thame raised close to Sanct Mildredis church. In the

Poutrie ane scaffold was erected, quhair, at the cities cost, to delight the queine with hir awin countrie musick, nyne trumpettis and ane kette drum did actuallie sound the Danisch merch, etc. The fourt gaitt, quhairthrow his grace passed, at charges of the citizenes, raised at Wast Cheap and Super lane, and adjoyning to the east front of the gritt croce. In the Cheap was erected ane squar low gallerie, sum four fute from the ground, sett round about with pilley staires, quhair stood the eldermen, the chamberlane, toun clark, counsall of the citie, Sir Hendrie Mountague, recorder of the citie, quho maid to his majestie ane gratularie oratioun, as followeth :

“ Heigh imperial majestie, it is not ane yeir in dayes, since with acclamatioun of the people, citizenis, and nobles, auspiciouslie hear at this croce wes proclaimed your true succession to the croun ; if than it was joyous with handis and heartis lift vp to heavin to cry king James, quhat is it now to sie king James ! Come, thairfoir, O worthiest of kingis, as ane glorious brydgroome throw your royall chamber. Bot to cum nearer, *adest quem querimus* : twentie and more are the soveranes we have served since our conqueist, but, conquerour of hairtes, it is yow and your posteritie that we have voved to love and wisch to serve quhillst

London is ane citie ; in plesadge quhairof, my lord maior, the eldermen, and commounes off the citie, wisching ane goldin rigne to yow, presentis your grace with ane litle cup of gold."

At the end of the oratioun thrie cupes of gold war givin, in the name of the lord maior and the haill bodie of the citie, to his grace, the young prince and the queine. From thence his majestie passed to the litle conduit of Paullis gatt, quhair was placed the fyft gaitt, arbourlyk, and so called the Arbour of musick. From thence he passed throw Paullis church yaird, vpoun the lower battelmentis of which church ane antheame was sung be the quiresteris of the church to the musick of loud instrumentis, which being finisched, ane litle oratioun was delyvered be ane of Mr Mulcastaris scolleris, at the doore of the frie scoll foundit be Doctour Collet, sumtyme deane of Paullis church. The sixt airche or gaitt of triumph was erected aboue the Conduit in Fleit streit, quhairon the glob of the world was saine to move, etc. Att Temple Barre, when his grace was vpoun the poynt of giving ane gracious princle farweill to the lord maior and the citie, a sewint gaitt or airche was erected, the forfront quhairof was pro-

portioned in everie respect lyk ane temple being dedicat to James, etc.

Lastlie, the citie of Wastminster and duchie of Lancaster, at the Strand, had invented the inventioun of ane rainbow, the sunne, moone, and stares advanced betuixt tuopiramidis, which peace of work was begune and endit in twelff dayes. Off all which pageantis and devyces, speaches and songis declaired in thame, yea may reid at lairge in ane buik, intituled, the Magnificent Intertainment givin to King James, etc. vpoun the day of his triumphant passage from the Tour through his honorabill citie of Londoun, the 15 of March 1603, be Thomas Decker.

The 19 day of August, in the afternoone, about fyve of the cloak, ane joyfull peace was proclaimed at the croce in Wast Cheap, to the honour of God and tranquillitie of these our vnited kingdomes, with the high and mightie prince Phillip, the Third of that name, king of Spaine, and Albert and Isable, archduik of Austria and duikis of Burgundie. Williame Segar, alias garter king at armes, red the proclamatioun, being present aught or ten heraldis in thair coattis of armes, sergeant, trumpettar, and vther aught trumpettaris sounding, and Sir Williame Rhennie, on of the sheriffis of

London, in skarlett, all on horsback, daittit at Quhythall, the day and yeir forsaid.

The 24 day of October, king James was in most solemne manner, at the great croce in Wast Cheape, proclamed king, of Gritt Britane, France, and Irland, defender of the faith, etc. ; Sir Thomas Bennett, lord maior of London, his brethrein, the eldermen, in skarlett, with thair heraldis and trumpettaris, all on horseback, being present.

The fourt day of Januar afternoone, Charles duik of Albanie, ane chyld of sum four yeires old, second sone to king James, now prince of Great Brittane, was created duik of York, in the hall, quhair the king satt most royallie vnder the cloath of estaitt. Att the quhilk tyme the heraldis goeing befoir, the knyghtis of the bath followed, efter thame the lord chamberlane, earle of Suffolk, in his robbis of estait, goeing alone ; than Hendrie Howard, earle of Northamptoun, and Charles Blunt, earle of Devonschyre, carrieing the robbis of estat for the duik of York : efter the earle of Southamptoun carried the coronett, the earle of Cumberland the goldin rod, the earle of Worchester the cup of estate, and the earle of Notingham bair the duik of Albanie in his armes, supported be the earle of Dorsett, lord theasurer, and the earle of Northumberland : quho all com-

ing in this order befor the king, the duik was, efter the patent red, created duik of York, the robbis and coronett put on him, the goldin rod delyvered into his hand. All which performed, they went to dinner, the duik of York and the earle sitting at on table in the vpper end of the great chamber, in the robbis of estaitt: the knyghtis of the bath by thamselvis at ane vther table on the syd of that chamber.

The right honorable Roger, earle of Rutland, appoyntted be the kingis majestie to be ambassadour to his loving brother, Christian the Fourth, king of Denmark, alsweill to solemnize, in his behalfe, the christianing of the said kingis sone, as also to present his highnes with the most noble ordour of the garter, tuik his leave at the court att Greenwich, on Sunday the 27 day of Junij 1603 yeires, and on Monday imbarked himself att Gravesend, in his majestie's ship called the Goldin Lyon, being worthilie accompanied with nyne knyghtis, twentie squyres, his freindis and allyes, besydis about ane hundreth gentlmen and yeamen, his servantis and followeris. On Twysday the 28 his lordship sett sail att Gravesend. On Wenisday at night we lost sight of land, and the wind and weather being favourable, on Twysday sewint night following, we arryved and saille anchored within the Sonde of

Denmark. Wpoun Thursday his lordschip landit at Elsinvre, and was visited and saluted from the king. On Fryday he rested himself, and on Saturnday tuik journey to Coppin Heavin, quhair the king then was, with sewin scoir waggones prepared for his transportation: his majestie also having sent tuo verrie fair coatches, and some gentlemen, his servantis, to attend on him. By the way his lordschip was mett by Ramellius and sum other of the kingis counsall, who, by ane oratioun maid in Latine, saluted his lordschip with most kindlie welcome, signifieing, that it was the kingis plesour that himself and all his traine should be frie of all chairge during thair abod in his countray, and to that end had so ordained, that in all the tounes and villages quhair we passed, wyne and beir, and all other victuallis war plentifulle and friely offered vnto all men. This oratioun was answered by Mr Nantoun, ane learned gentleman that attendit my lord for that purpose.

That evening we cam to Coppin Heavin the ambassadour and his brother war ludged in the court; and the knightis and gentlemen in the toun. That night the earle was visited in his ludging, by some of the kingis counsall, and some complimentis passed betuixt

the king and the ambassadour by messages onlie.

Sunday in the morneing, being the tent of Julij, his lordshipe was appoynted to have audience of the king; and thairvpoun about the hour of nyne, his lordschip sett forth of his ludging with all his attendentis in verrie guid ordour, and richlie beseine. His gentlmen of the better sort had ane luferay of skarlett, and with fyve or six silver laces about: and the meaner sort with als many guardis of quhyt satine. The kingis majestie stood on ane halfe pace, in ane great chamber, at the syd of ane squar table, placed vnder ane cloath of estate of crimsoun welvett. He was apparrelled in blak: for he than mourned for his brother, which died in Russia. Att my lordis approach he vncovered his head, and descending the halfe pace, imbraced my lord with much kindness. Then began Mr Nantoun, my lordis oratour, his oratioun in Latine, which he performed with great eloquence, and in handling the pairtis of his oratioun, he first presented the king of Brittaines letteris of credence, and deputatioun for the baptizing of the chyld, and than the commissioun for the ordour of the garter, all which the king of Denmark ressaived and red, and by sum few instructiouns given by his majestie, to Ramellius his coun-

sallour, Ramellius answeired the oratione poyntlie with great learning and readines. Efter the which, the king discoursed ane quhyll in the Italiane tongue with the ambassadour, taking knowledge of the knightis and gentlmen, who kissed his highnes' hand; and also proceidit to the church to the christening of the young prince, in manner following:

The streattis of Coppin Heavin, throw which his royal highnes sould pas, wer sett with certane ensignes and burgeris both of shott and pick: the kingis trumpetteris road formost sounding; then followed the kettledrums; then the kingis housold servantis on fute; efter quhom followed ffyftie gentlmen, all mounted on great horss, apparrelled in blak, quho mourned as the king did. Then cam the lord ambassadeures attendantis, followeris, and servantis, accompanied with divers Danes on fute; the bischop of Breame, with the deputies of Saxoun, Brunswick, and Brandeburge, accompanied each other. The king, the lord ambassadour, and duik Ulrick, the kingis brother, road all thrie togidder. The queine mother followed, invested in quhyt, sitting alone in ane chariott of crimson welvett, emborderred and richlie gilt, bearing the young prince in hir armes. The chariott was drawin with six quhyt horss, sumptuouslie

harnished and plumed, and ane guard of Switzers, suited in red and yellow silk, bearing light torches thairabout. Efter followed a spair charriott of purple welvett, richlie embroidered, and efter it diverss coaches of the queines veomenis, apparrelled into quhyt lyk vnto nunes. Thus with great triumph and rejoycing of the people, which war thair in great numberis, they entred our ladie church of that toun, quhair the baptizing was to be performed. The chancell was hung with crimson welvett, and satine figured, and round about bewtified with the most fair ladies in great abundance, all rich in juellis, and head attyres in pearle, close dressed; bot thair garmenis war blak and plaine. Truelie, in my judgment, both for habit and behaviour, they seemed to be the most modest vomen in the world!

In the chancel war erected tuo trevisses, the on for queine mother, and the prince; the other for the king and the ambassadour. Efter diverss antheames and hymnes, sung and consorted with excellent musick in great varietie, ane bischope, assisted with ane deacon, in rich vestmentis, standing befor the altar begane to reid certane prayeris both in latine and Danisch tongues; which performed, the bischop cam to the fount, and the queine mo-

ther, being led by the ambassadour, and the duik Vlrick, brought the chyld in hir armes to the same, and thair shoe delyvered the chyld to be held be the lord ambassadour, quhill shoe hirselff slipped back the head attyre for the baptisme, which the bischope efter certane prayeris performed, by putting watter on the infantis head, with the signe of the croce, saying *neame de barne*, which was Christiane, done by the lord ambassadour and the other deputies, at the requeist of the king his father. All which accomplished, the queine mother, with the prince reteired vnto hir traveis. The bischope began ane sermon in Latine, vpoun the gospell for that day; which endit, the trumpettis soundit, and they royallie reteired as they came. That day the king maid ane solemne feast to the ambassadour, and the other deputies; placing the king of Inglandis ambassadour at the table end, at the richt hand of queine mother: himselff satt on the richt syd of the table end, and his queine on the left. The duick hes brother, the bischope of Breame, and vther estaittes, war placed according to thair degries; and so war the Inglish knyghtis and gentlemen, als many as the boordis might conteane. To be breife, it was superfluous to tell yow of all superfluities that war vsed. It wold mak

ane man seik to heir of thair drinking healthis ; vse hath brought it into faschioun, and faschioun bath maid it ane habit, which ill be-seimes our natioun to imitat.

Monday being the 20 day of Julii, the lord ambassadour was intertaind with the sight of the kingis stable of horssis, and with the arcinnall or storhous of the kingis munitiones, which truelie when it salbe performed, wilbe on of the most excellent provisiones in Christendome. Thair was but on syd of it built, the vther lay in the foundationes. The fabricatioun is of thrie laftis ; the neathermost is artaillie vpoun carriage, so neat and clean kept, that the brase was bright as gold, and the yron as blak as jett. The bullettis is built in peillis, according to thair bore, and all provisioun so readie and necessar, as it war not to expres with wordis, quhat it is in forme ; so is the midle storehous of armouris, pickis and shott, ensignes, drumes, and all martiall instrumentis. Also, the vppermost laft with pouder, cordage, and vtheris necessaris plentifulle storred.

Twysday the 12 day wes spent in sieing the king of Denmarkis shipis, and vther compliments.

Wednesday the 13 day my lord ambassadour and his attendantis kissed the queinis handis, and young prince, then tuik thair leive, and

returned from Coppinheavin to Elsinore ; and be the way the king and the ambassadour hunted.

Thursday the 14 day the king ressaived the ordour of the garter, within the castle of Elsenore ; which service was performed by William Segar, Norrey king at arms, vnto quhom the king gave ane rich suitt of apparrell, and a chaine of gold with his mediagle hanging thairat ; Att the investing of the king the castle dischairges fyftie cannones ; and the king of Englandis shipis lying befor the castle, reported als many. Than efter noone the king went aboard in the Inglish shipis, and had ane banquet prepared for him vpoun the vpper deckis, which war hung with ane awning of cloath of tissue ; everie health reported six, aught, or ten shott of greatt ordinance, so that during the kingis abode, the ship dischairged ane hundreth and fyftie shott.

The castle of Elsinore is ane quadrant, and on of the guidliest fortificationes in that pairt of the world, both for strenth and most curious archietectour, and was built by Fredrick this kingis father. Thair is in the same many princleie ludgings, and especiallie on great chamber. It is hanged with tapestrie of freshe coullerred silk, without gold, quhairin all the Danisch kingis are expressed in antique habitis,

according to thair severall tymes, with thair armes and inscriptiones, conteaning all thair conqueistis and victories. The roof is of inlet wodis, and hung full of branches of brase for lightis, etc.

Fryday the 15 day the king hunted, and be the way showed my lord ambassadour certane watter mylnes of his awin device, for the forging, hammering, and boreing of the ordinance, both great and small; in the which work ane duzoun men did, with great ease, the offices of thrie or fourscoir. The chase continewed about two houres. The dear being brought within toylles was killed with muskett shott, the number of aught or nyne scoir, the most pairt staiges, efter the which the king feasted my lord ambassadour in ane ludge verrie royallie.

Saturday the 16 in the morneing, six or aught of the kingis counsall repaired vnto my lord ambassadouris ludging in the castle, and thair, in presence of his lordis and attendantis, maid ane solemne protestatioun of the kingis high acceptatioun of these favoures and honoures, quhich his loving brother, the king of Ingland had done vnto him, promiseing all princie requyttall, if it lay in his power: yealding alwayes great thankis to the ambassadour for his long and painful journey to doe

him honour, and thairwith presented his lordship with ane faire chaine and ane rich jewell sett with diamondis, and his pictur also hanging thairat: also sixteine vther chaines war givin to the knightis and sum of the gentlmen, my lordis followeris; and about ten of his mediagles of gold vnto vtheris. The presentis which the king of Ingland sent to the king of Denmark, was ane collere of the ordour, tuo verrie rich Georges sett with diamondis, and tuo garteris, and to the queine mother rich caranettis and vther jewellis, estimat worth thrie or four thousand pund sterling. That day Ramellius invited both the king and the ambassadour to dyne with him at his awin hous, neare the castle: and in his dyneing chamber, had erected ane cloath of estate of crimsoun satine figured, with tuo chayres and cusheones of the same, and vpoun the cloath of estate war sett the armes and styles of both the kingis, which befoir was not vsed, becaus the king ressaived the ordour in his chamber, and not in his chappell. The cheyre was great, and my lord aumbassadour being vearrie with these bachanall intertanement, took his leive of the kingis grace, intending that night to ly aboard for his more speidie dispatch homwardis: the king by no persuasioun could alter his determinatioun, and thairfoir after

monie embracementis on aither pairt, with kissing of the kingis handis, his lordschip departed, and was accompanied vnto the shore by his majestie, quhair the pinnace and the long boatt lay readie to convey him aboard.

Sunday and Monday we war becalmed in the Sonde, and on Tuysday the 20 of Julij, we set sail for England; our ship saluting the castle was resaluted by the same, and the king standing vpoun ane counterscarp that lay into the sea, gave fyre vnto ane cannon with his awin hand, for our last fairweill. And truelie I most say thus much of him, that for his royall persone, and princie carriage, I hold him to be the most guidliest king in Christendome.

Saturday the 30 day of Julij, efter we had beine 14 dayes at sail, carried by contrairie windis, we arrived at Skarbore raid in Yorkschyre.

The aught of August following, the lord ambassadour cam with his attendantis, followeris, and servantis to Hamptoun Court, quhair his lordschip and the rest kissed the kingis hand; quhom all I leive for this present, to the nixt occasioun, and the rest of all matteris my authour continewes to speak fardder of, and restis, etc. etc.

ADDENDA.

IT has been already observed, that several passages contained in more recent manuscripts, are wanting in those of older date. To render this volume equally copious, some of these are already inserted in the text, or in notes, where the narrative would admit of it; others are here subjoined.

P. 76. Magnus Reid is called Magnus Redman, "named with the Scots mans with the red maine." The reading l. 12. should probably be *rid neive*.

P. 140, l. 7. "Patrick Thorntoun one of the king's majesties oun court."

P. 212. l. 6. "and made ane man called James Shaw, called laird of Sauchie, captane of the said castle."

P. 246. The description of the monster is rather more distinct, being "tuo fair persones, with all members and portraitures, per-teining to tuo bodies, to witt, tuo heads, well eyed, well eared, and weill handed. The tuo

bodies, the ones back was fast to the otheres, but from the waist down they were bot one personage, and could not know by the ingyne of man from which of the two bodies the legs and privie memberes proceded."

P. 294. l. 17. The artillery and arms of the duke of Albany are described to be "sex great canones, and six great feild pieces, with other small artillery, culvering, hagbut, and cors-bow."

P. 312. The later manuscripts add to the enumeration of the king's household, "Mr Hunter, Mr Falconer, Mr Porter, and ane foole called John Mackillrie."

P. 314. l. 21. "Patrick Hamiltoun, abbot of Fern, brother-german to the sheriff of Linlithgow."

P. 342. l. 1. "Meggitland and hunted all the countrie and boundis, that is to say, Crammert, Pappertlaw, St Marie Laws, Carlaverick, Chappill, Ewin doors, and Langhope."

P. 347. l. 15. "Lord Williame Haward."

P. 373, l. 20. "And specially in Edinburgh, Leith, Dundie, Breeichan, Montroes, Aberdeen, St Johnstoun, Stirling, Glasgow, Air, Lithgow, and St Androis, and Cupar off Fyfe. Thir worthie and principall touns that war commanded to mak provision, and triumph for the king's coming and his resait. But, ne-

vertheless, their joy was soon altered, and mer-
rines turned to sadness and mourning for dis-
pleasure of the queen, for she departed that
same day fourtie days that she landed, being
the 5th of July, and therefor, all ther great
blythnes and joy of her coming was turned in
great murning. and all the play that should
have been made was all turned in soul masses
and dirigies, wherethrow their yeid such mur-
ning throw the countrie and lamentation, that
it was great pitie for to see, and also the king's
heavie moan that he made for her was greater
than all the rest."

After relating the birth of the two princes,
p. 379, the following passage appears in the
later manuscript.

"Not long after this, the king set ane Par-
liament at Edinburgh, on the third day of De-
cember, in the year of God 1540 yearis,
wherein the king ratified and approued his ge-
nerall revocatione, the whilk he made in
France, when he came of perfect age, to witt,
att the toune of Rouan, being at the age of
twenty-five yeares, and becaus he was then
[out] of his own realme, and in France for the
tyme, and had not his three estates then pre-
sent with him, therefor, as soone as he came
to Scotland, he made his revocatione of new,
and ratified that thing that he had done: then

be instruments he made it manifest, in plain Parliament, and took acts thereupon. And also, he took the bones of Robert Leslie, and forfaulted him for certain crymes and les majestie. Many other good acts and constitutions he made in that Parliament."

Of the persons present at the decease of James V., p. 407, the later manuscripts observe.

"Feu was with him at his departing, except the cardinall, the earle of Argyle, the earle of Rothes, the lord Erskine, the lord Lindsay, the doctor Mr Michael Durie, Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, lyon herald: the laird of Grange, Andro Wood of Largo, Norman Leslie, Mr of Rothes; the rest wer but his own secreit servants."

P. 509. The misconduct of the French is thus described: "One day the provost of Edinburgh, William Hamiltoun, laird of Stenhouse, who was captain of the castle, was commanding tuo Frenchmen to prison for raising a fray in the toun. The French men assembling in great numbers, encountered these who were with the prowtest being unarmed. They killed the provest himself, James Hamiltoun, his sone, David Kirk, David Barber, William Chapman, Mr William Stuart, William Purves, and Elizabeth Stuart, a woman."

Page 511, l. 18 “ During the peace, which lasted fyve years, the lord Semple slew the lord Sanchar, Williame Crichtoun, in the governours chamber, yet he escapit punishment be means of John Hamiltoun, bishop of St Androis, brother to the governour, who entertained the lady Stenhouse, commonly called lady Gilton, dauchter to this Robert, lord Semple, as his concubin.”

The following passage is inserted, p. 548, l. 22, after observing that the protestants were unable to capture Leith.

“ The souldiours also began to mutinie for want of pay, wherwpon the lords of the Congregatione resolved to coine all ther silver veshell and rings: bot the coyning stamps being stollen away, they were constrained to send to ther frynds in Berwick, Sir Ralph Sadler, and Sir Thomas Crofts, to borrow a little mony to putt of the present necessitie. The queen adverteised heerof be her secrett espyalls, sent the earle of Bothwell to lye in waitt for the lord Ormeistoun, who was sent for the same, and to intrap him in his returne, which he performed, wounded and took himself, and took the mony from him. The earle of Arran and lord James Stuart, adverteised heirof, passed haistilie out of Edinburgh, with

the most part of the horsmēn, to releve Ormeistoun out of his hands."

P. 563, l. 3. The oldest manuscript contains a marginal note concerning the marriage of lord Fleming "My author told me not on quhom."

P. 574, l. 7. " In the year of God 1581, the earle of Mortoun, regent of Scotland, was executed at Edinburghe."

SPECIMEN OF A FRAGMENT OF THE CRONICLES.



- - - - **T**HAIREFTIR they come to Edr. without ony wnderstanding quhat wes devysit for thair distructionn. Sum men jugeit na guid to cum of this weyage, and that throw the frequent message, baithe cum- and and gangand betuixt the governour and chanceler, and thairfoir gaif counsell that nane of thame at that tyme suld entir wnto the castell of Edr. or at the leist, gif he entirrit, best it war to send his brother David bakwart hame agane, and not to brak thair faderis counsell, quha inhibit thame that thay yeid nevir bothe togiddir quhair thair wes ony apperance of dainger, fraude or gyle, lest it suld be the wraik of thaimselffis and houssis. The erle gaif no credit to sik coniectionis, sayand, he had experience of the governour and chanceleris faithe and lawtie in sik caceis; and as to the chanceler, he haid so interteint and treitt him, that he could dreid na ewill nor falset at his hand. Sik rumour and quiet rumour spred throw the haille company,

caussit Sir Dauid Dowglas perswade the erle his brother to reteir hamewart againe, dreid- and sum mischief to follow vpone this haistie frindship; for the quhilk the erle repreivit his brother werray scharplie, sayand it wes nocht decent for him to gif eir to sik wane flattir- riris, quha wes the werray occatioun of all dissensioun and discorde amangis nobill men, so lang as they haid place, and thairfoir gai- command with richt scharpe threitning and braging wourdis, that no man in his companie menit sik thing fra be to speik the samyn.—

r - - - *Vide* page 40.

FINIS.

INDEX.

*Heir begynes the Table of this buik, ordourlie as it is writ-
ten, from the beginning to the end, and quhair the samen
may be fund, as ye may persaeue be the figures, etc.*

| | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| Item, Ye sall find in the first 12 leiffis the discription of England, Scotland, Waillie, and Cornwall. | |
| Message send be the chancellour to the earle Douglas, | Page 11 |
| Answer of the earle Douglas to the chancellour, | 12 |
| The seidge laid to the castle of Edinburgh, | 13 |
| The communing betwixt the governour and chancellor, | ib. |
| Sir Williame Crichtoun receaved be the governour, and re- newed captane, | 15 |
| Sir Allane Stewart slaine be Sir Thomas Boyd, | 16 |
| Sir James Stewart and his brother relieved, | 19 |
| Sir Alexander Seatoun, <i>alias</i> Gordoun, the first earle of Hunt- lie, | 20 |
| Ambassadouris sent into France be the earle Douglas, | 21 |
| The king had to Edinburgh be the chancellour, | 26 |
| The meitting betwixt the governour and chancellour, | 30 |
| The chancellouris answer to the governour, | 33 |
| Parliament sett att Edinburgh, | 35 |
| The chancellour mett the earle Douglas and convoyed him to Edinburgh, | 37 |
| Earle Douglas past to Edinburgh, | 38 |
| Earle Douglas within the castle of Edinburgh, | 42 |
| Ane bullis head presentit befor the earle Douglas, | ib. |
| Earle Douglas his brother and Sir Malcome Fleming headit at Edinburgh, 1448, | 43 |
| Earle Douglas died without successioun, | 44 |
| The fair maidin of Galloway, | 45 |

| | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| Marriage betuixt groce James his sone and the fair maidin of Galloway, | Page 45 |
| Conflict betuixt the shireff of Pearth and Johnne Cormak, | 46 |
| Combatt betuixt Sempill and Calbraith, | 47 |
| Earle Douglas past to the king and was remitted, | 48 |
| The chancellour denudit him self of the chancellarie, | 49 |
| The governour denudit him self of his office, | ib. |
| The governour and chancellour summondit, | 50 |
| Wrytting send be the governour and chancellour to the king, | ib. |
| Parliament holdin att Stirling for forfaiting the governour and chancellour, | 51 |
| The castle of Brankstoun seided, | 52 |
| The battell of Arbroth, | 54 |
| The earle of Crawford slaine rakleslie, | ib. |
| James Stewart slaine traytrouslie be Robert Boyd, | 56 |
| The seidge of Hailis, | ib. |
| The castle of Edinburgh seidgit nyne monethis, | 57 |
| Parliament at Pearth, | ib. |
| Sir James Stewart banished, | 58 |
| The queine buir to Sir James Stewart thrie sons, | ib. |
| The marriage of king James the First his dochter, | 59 |
| The chancellour sent to the duik of Gildar for marriage of his dochter to the king, | ib. |
| The governouris sone headit, | 61 |
| George Douglas raised ane armie and brunt Annick, | 62 |
| Heretrix of Frendraucht married upon Alexander Dumbar, | 66 |
| Marriage betuixt the earle of Murray and Katherine Sea-toun, | ib. |
| No man durst reproach the earle of Douglas proceedingis, | 68 |
| Bischope of Glasgow mover of mischieff, | 69 |
| The bischope summondit be ane thundring voyce, | ib. |
| The same voyce hard the second tyme, | ib. |
| The voyce hard the third tyme, | ib. |
| The maidin of France, | 71 |
| The marriage of Hendrie the Saxt, | ib. |
| Duik of Gloucester hanged, | 72 |
| The chancellor writt to the communes, | 73 |
| Hendrie the captane tain and beheadit, | 74 |
| Ane new armie of England sent to the borderes, | 75 |
| George Douglas lufftenant of the Scottis armie, | 76 |
| The battell of Sark, | 78 |
| Magnus Reid slaine, | 79 |
| The number of the men slaine, | 80 |
| The kingis harring to the earle of Ormond, | 81 |
| Civill discord in England, | 83 |
| Peace for thrie yeires, | ib. |
| Earle Douglas past to Flanderis, | 85 |
| Earle Douglas peregrination, and resaving of him within Rome, | 86 |

| | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| The earle of Orkney sent be the king in Galloway, | Page 88 |
| The earle of Orkney disobeyed, | ib. |
| The castle of Douglas castin down, | 89 |
| Earle Douglas returned from Rome. | 90 |
| Wrang narratioun maid to the earle Douglas, | 91. |
| Haistie credence givin to flattrie, | ib. |
| The chancellouris slauchter devysed be the earle Douglas, | 92 |
| Sir William Chrichtoun compelled the earle Douglas to leive Edinburgh, | 94 |
| Confederates with the earle Douglas againes the king, | ib. |
| Earle Douglas cam to Stirling to the king, | 100 |
| The kingis reasouning with the earle Douglas, | 101 |
| The proud answeir of the earle Douglas to the king, | 102 |
| The earle Douglas slaine be the kingis awin hand, | ib. |
| Stirling brunt, | 104 |
| Dalkeith seided and brunt, | ib. |
| The battell of Brechin, | 105 |
| The earle of Crawford fled. | 106 |
| The earle of Crawfordis godlie desir, | 107 |
| Strabogie brunt, | ib. |
| The toun of Forres brunt, | 108 |
| The earle of Crawford forfalt, | ib. |
| The earle of Douglas be dispensatioun married his brotheris wayff, | 110 |
| The earle Douglas would not be counsailld to crave pardon, | 111 |
| The earle of Crawfordis oratioun to the king, | 114 |
| Genealogie of the hous of Crawford, | 115 |
| Lord Wallis slaine vpoun the bridge of London, | 117 |
| The kingis answeir to the earle of Crawford, | 122 |
| The earle of Crawford and his assisteris receaved in the kingis favouris, | 123 |
| Foundation of the colledge of Glasgow, | 124 |
| Parliament att Edinburgh, | ib. |
| James Crichtoun restored to the earldome of Murray | 125 |
| George Crichtoun maid earle of Cathnes, | ib. |
| Earle Douglas counsailld to enter in battell againes the king, | 129 |
| The earle Douglas armie retired, | 135 |
| Lord Hamiltoun passed to the king, | ib. |
| The kingis eldest dochter given to the lord Hamiltoun in marriage, | ib. |
| Earle Douglas with his assisteris put to flight, | ib. |
| The earle Douglas past to Donald of the Illes, and was as- sisted be him, | 136 |
| Great crueltie done be the lord of the Illes, | 137 |
| Innernes brunt, | ib. |
| Borderes brokin | 138 |
| Maidin of Galloway married vpoun the earle of Archoil, | 139 |
| The laird of Cather slaine, | 140 |
| The death of sundrie nobles, | ib. |

| | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|
| Lord of the Isles sent messengeris to the king, | Page 142 |
| Earle of Ros remitted vpoun certaine conditiones, | 143 |
| Ambassadouris from the duk of York, | 144 |
| The duk of Yorkis richt to the croun, | 145 |
| Ambassadouris oratioun, | 146 |
| Barvick and vther landis in Northumberland promised to the king for his assistance, | 151 |
| The kingis answeir, | 152 |
| Ane dissimulat messenger cam to the king, | 153 |
| The king of Ingland wanquished and taine, and many of his nobilitie slaine, | 155 |
| The seidge of Roxburgh, | 156 |
| Donald of the Isles cam to the king at the seidge of Roxburgh, | 158 |
| King James the Second hurt by a gune, and died thairby, | 159 |
| The queines oratioun to the lordis efter the deceas of her husband, king James the Second, | 160 |
| The aige of king James the Second, | 161 |
| King James the Third crowned, | ib. |
| The queine of Ingland past in France, | 167 |
| Foundation of St Salvitouris collodge be bischope James Kennedie, | 167 |
| Margaret queine of Scotland deceast, | 169 |
| The death of bischope Kennedie, | 170 |
| The counsall of bischope Kennedie to king James the Second | 172 |
| Lord Hamiltoun counsalled be bischope Kennedie to leive the earle Douglas, | 174 |
| King James the Thrid married the king of Denmarkis dochter, | 176 |
| Debatt betuixt the duk of Albanie and Alexander Home | 178 |
| How the Hoomes and Hepburnes colligit with Cochrane, | 180 |
| How Cochrane caused ane witch come to the king, | 181 |
| The earle of Marre murdered, | 188 |
| Cochrane maid earle of Marre, | 184 |
| The lordis sett ane counsall amongst thaimselfis, | 186 |
| The kingis answeir to the lordis, | 187 |
| Fyftie thousand men assemblit at the kingis command vpoun the Borrow Mure, | 189 |
| Ane conventioun of the lordis in the kirk of Lather, | ib. |
| The names of the lordis that war at the conventioun in the kirk of Lather, | 190 |
| How Cochrane cam to the kirk doore, | 191 |
| All the kingis servantis hangit over the bridge of Lather, | 192 |
| Cochrane hangid over the bridge of Lather, | ib. |
| The king counsalled to restore the earle Douglas, | 194 |
| The kingis vow towardis the earle Douglas, | 195 |
| The king of Ingland askit Barvick againe of the king of Scotland, to deliuer him out of captivitie. | 196 |

| | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|
| The duik of Albanie and the duik of Gloucester cam in Scotland for the kingis support, | Page 198 |
| The duik of Albanie married the earle of Orkneyis dochter, and thair efter partied with her, and past in France, and was married, | 201 |
| The duik of Albanie summondit befor the counsall for alledgit pointes of treasone, | 202 |
| The king counsalled to justifie his brother, | ib. |
| The duik of Albanie slew the captane of the castle of Edinburgh, and four of his men, | 206 |
| The duik of Albanie past in France, | ib. |
| The king sought the duik of Albanie, | 208 |
| The building of the great hall of Stirling, and the chappell royal thereof, | 210 |
| The king thought to have given the benefice of Coldinghame to the chappell royal of Stirling, | 211 |
| Hoomes and Hepburnes with vtheris lordis and barrones bandit againes the king, | ib. |
| The king left his sone to the captane of Stirling in keiping, | 212 |
| The captane of the castle of Stirling seduced be the lordis conspiratouris, | 214 |
| Lord David Lindsay presented ane hors to the king, | 216 |
| The king would not treat peace with his rebellis, | 218 |
| The ordour of the kingis hoast, | 219 |
| The king remembrit the saying of the witch, | ib. |
| The battell of Bannockburne, | 220 |
| The king fled and fell aff his hors, | ib. |
| The king slaine be ane priest, 1488, | 222 |
| Captane Wodis answer to the lordis, | 226 |
| All the skipperis and marineris in Leith refuissed to assail captane Wood, | 228 |
| King James the Fourth crowned, | ib. |
| The castellis of Stirling and Edinburgh rendrit, | 229 |
| The king moved to repentance, | 230 |
| The king caused mak ane yron belt, | ib. |
| Parliament sett at Edinburgh, | 231 |
| Lord David Lindsay first called, and his dittay red, | 232 |
| The lord Lindsayes answeir to the lordis, | ib. |
| Maister Patrick Lindsay spak for his brother | 233 |
| The king removed alleadging him as pairtie, | 237 |
| The chancellouris answeir to Mr Patrick Lindsay, | 238 |
| Sir Andro Wood fought with the Ingisch shipis, | 239 |
| Captane Wood and Captane Bull fought vpoun the sea, | 243 |
| Stephan Bull tane, | 244 |
| The king of Scotland send home Stephan Bull to his maister, | ib. |
| The king vsed meikle justing, | 245 |
| Ane monster, | 246 |
| Quhat languages this monster had, | 247 |
| Sir Patrick Hamiltoun and ane Duchman justed. | 248 |

| | Page |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| Sir Patrick victour, | 248 |
| The Drummondis brunt the kirk of Monivaird, | 249 |
| Tua bairnes brought up in Inchkeith be ane dumb woman, | ib. |
| Barnard Stewart maid governour of Naples, | 250 |
| James the Feird married, | 251 |
| Bischoep Andro Forman past to Rome, | 252 |
| The Pope deliyvered his mule to bischoep Forman, and maid him legatt of Scotland, | 255 |
| The king of Scotland biggit ane great ship | 256 |
| Bischoep Andro Forman sent to the king of England, | 258 |
| The king of Inlandis answeir, | 259 |
| Bischoep Forman richlie rewardit be the king of England, | 261 |
| Quhat support the king of Scotland sent to France, | ib. |
| The queine of France sent ane love letter to the king of Scot- land, and ane honest token, | 263 |
| The captanes of warre disobeyed the kingis message, | ib. |
| Ane man appeired to the king at his prayeris, and could not be seine thairefter, | 264 |
| Proclamatoun heard in Edinburgh on the night, | 266 |
| Maister Richard Lawsons appaield from the summondis, | 267 |
| The number of the kingis men, | 268 |
| The king kest down Wark, Norhame, and Foord, | ib. |
| The ladie Foord maid the earle of Surry forseine of the king of Scotlandis affaires, | 270 |
| The earle of Surrey cam fordward to Flowdoun hillis vpoun the king of Scotlandis hoast, | 271 |
| Lord Lindsayes counsall to the lordis, | 273 |
| The kingis furious answer, | 275 |
| The ordour of the kingis armie, | 276 |
| The maister gunneris desir of the king, | 277 |
| The kingis answer, | ib. |
| The field of Flowdoun, 1513, | ib. |
| The first Inglish armie default, | 278 |
| The earle of Huntlie desyred my lord Hoomie to reskew the king, | ib. |
| The lord Hoomie left the kingis artaillie in the fieldis behind him, | 280 |
| The yeir of this battell, | 281 |
| The queine married the earle of Angus, | 284 |
| Ane battell in Edinburgh betuixt the earle of Arrane and the earle of Angus, | 285 |
| The lord Hoomie verrie ardent to bring the duik of Albanie in Scotland, | 290 |
| The lordis concludit to send for the duik of Albanie, | 291 |
| Quhen the duik of Albanie cam in Scotland; 1515, | 294 |
| The duik of Albanie maid his oath that he suld be true to the commounweill, | 295 |
| The governouris perigrinatioun, | 296 |

| | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|
| Three ships furnished with men and munitions, send be the king of France to the governour, | Page 298 |
| The lord Hoomie and his brother beheadit, | 302 |
| The queine of Scotland left hir sone, and past to Ingland to the earle of Angus, hir husband, | 303 |
| The queine of Scotland delyver of ane dochter in Ingland, | ib. |
| The queine and hir husband cam in Scotland, and was received be the governour in favouris, | 304 |
| The governour past in France, | ib. |
| Combatt betuixt the laird of Bines, and the laird of Keir, | 305 |
| Monseour Tillibatie was avengit on thame quha hurt William Meldrum, | 306 |
| Monseour Tillibatie regent for the tyme was slaine, | 307 |
| Bischop Forman deceit, | 310 |
| The duik of Albanie past in France, | 311 |
| The lordis of Scotland brought the king to the fieldis of xii yeiris, | 312 |
| Four lordis chosin to be tutoris to the king, | ib. |
| The queine partit with the earle of Angus, and married Harie Stewart, | 314 |
| Mr Patrik Hamiltoun accused of heresie, | ib. |
| Mr Patrik Hamiltoun appealed from the bischopis judgementis, and summondit his accuser, | 317 |
| Mr Patrik Hamiltoun brunt, | 318 |
| The king writt to the laird of Buccleugh to cum and tak him out of the Douglass handis, | 319 |
| The feild of Hallidonhill, | 320 |
| The laird of Sessford slaine, | 321 |
| The earle of Lennox gathered ane armie for support of the king, | 323 |
| The feild of Lithgow, 1526, | 326 |
| The earle of Lennox slaine, | 327 |
| The tirranie of Sir James Hamiltoun, | ib. |
| Sir Andro Wood saissed the earle of Glencairne, | ib. |
| The earle of Angus returned to the king victorious, | 328 |
| The king effeired of the earle of Angus, | ib. |
| The queine and bischope Beatoun effeired of the Douglass, | 329 |
| The Douglass thought to have forfait my lord Lindsay, | 330 |
| The king cam secretlie from Falkland to Stirling, and withdrew himself from the Douglass, | 332 |
| Then caused proclame that no Douglas sould come neir him be six myles, | 334 |
| Then send for the lordis, | 335 |
| The earle of Angus summondit to underly the law, | 336 |
| Proclamatiounes not to recept no Douglas, | 337 |
| Tamptallon rendit to the king vpoun conditiones, | 339 |
| Ane parliament sett quhairin all the Douglassis war forfait and banished, 1528, | 340 |
| Johne Armstrong hanged, | 343 |

| | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|
| The king past to Atholl to the huntis, | Page 343 |
| The earle of Atholl maid ane pallace to the king, | 344 |
| Ane Inglish ambassadour cam in Scotland, | 347 |
| Contentioun of archerie betuixt Scottis and Inglemen, | 348 |
| The king promeist to goe to Ingland, | 349 |
| The king buddit be the bischopis to byd at home, | ib. |
| Ambassadores send in Ingland, | 350 |
| The ladie Glamis brunt at Edinburth, | 353 |
| The Master of Forbes execute at Edinburgh, | ib. |
| The accusatioun of the Viccar of Dollour, | 354 |
| The Viccar of Dollour and Mr David Strachan condemned to be brunt, | 356 |
| Mr Normond Galloway brunt, | 357 |
| The king past to the Illis, | ib. |
| The king send ambassadouris to the emperor, | 359 |
| The king send ambassadores to the duik of Vandon, | 360 |
| The king imbarcked to pas to France, and turned sail and returned, | ib. |
| The king landit at the wast pairtris of Scotland, | 361 |
| The king tuik jorney againe to France, | 362 |
| The emperor hearing of the king of Scotlandes coming in to France, he raised his armie and fled, | ib. |
| The duik of Vandones dochter knew the king of Scotland among the rest of his companie be his picture, | 363 |
| The king past from the duik of Wandon to the king of France, | 365 |
| The conditiones betuixt the king of Scotland and the king of France, | 368 |
| The king directit lettres to certane of his nobilitie, to cam to Paris to his marriage, | 369 |
| The king of Scotland married vpoun Magdalene, eldest dochter to the king of France, | 370 |
| The king of Scotland tuik his leave and depairted from the king of France, | 371 |
| Magdalene, queine of Scotland, deceast that same day that she cam in Scotland, | 374 |
| The duches of Loren queine of Scotland, cam in Scotland, | ib. |
| How the queine was ressaived in Scotland, | 375 |
| The queine visited all the kirkes and colledges of Sanct Andrews, | 377 |
| The prince baptized, | 379 |
| The bischopis budit the king not to pas in Ingland, | 382 |
| The bischopis and freiris gave ane bill of delatioun to the king, | 383 |
| The king budit be the monkis and freiris, | ib. |
| The kingis answeir to the bischopis, | 384 |
| Sir James Hamiltoun headit, and his landis annexit to the croun, | 388 |
| Wisiones appeared to the king, | 390 |
| The prince and his second brother the duik of Albanie deceast, | 391 |

| | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|
| Parliament sett att Edinburgh, | Page 391 |
| The Douglass landis annexit to the crown, | 392 |
| The battell of Haldenrige, | 395 |
| Trevis givin vp betuixt Ingland and Scotland, | 396 |
| Tuo ambassadours send to Ingland, | 397 |
| Proclamatoun to assemble all Scottis subjectis betuixt 30 and 16, | ib. |
| The number of the Scottis armie, | ib. |
| The king caused proclame Oliver Sinclair lieftenant of his ar- mie, | 403 |
| The Scottis reteired, | 403 |
| Word cam to the king that his lordis wer takin, and his armie defatt, | 405 |
| The king depairted at Falkland 1542, | 406 |
| The cardinall Sir David Beatoun, desired to have the authoritie, | 412 |
| The earle of Angus and his brother send for, and cam in Scot- land, | 413 |
| The earle of Arrane chosin protectour of Scotland, | 414 |
| Contract of peace and marriage, | 415 |
| Edinburgh brunt, 1543, | 417 |
| Leith brunt, | ib. |
| The cardinall delyvered to my lord Seatoun, to keip in ward, | 418 |
| The young queine crowned at Stirling, 1543, | 421 |
| Money sent from the king of France to the earle of Lennox, | 424 |
| The seidge of Glasgow, | 427 |
| The castell of Glasgow givin over vpon conditions, | 428 |
| The earle of Lennox marriage, | 429 |
| Proclamatoun to all men to follow the governour, | 431 |
| Quhat answer the duik of Norfolk gave to king Harie of Ing- land, | 433 |
| All this appeared to be scorne, | ib. |
| The earle of Angus intercommoned with the governour for re- sisting the Inglismen, | 436 |
| The Inglismen spoylled the abbey of Melros, | 438 |
| The ordour of the Inglish armie, | 440 |
| The battell of Ankrum mure. 1546, | 443 |
| Sir Brime Lattone and Sir Ralph Iveris seasing of the lands of Mers and Tividail, | 444 |
| Sir Brime Lattone and Sir Ralph Iveris ceased and slaine, | ib. |
| Monseour Lorge cam in Scotland, 1545, | 447 |
| The governour past to Wark with ane great armie, | 448 |
| The cardinall got a cuff befor the queine, | 449 |
| The taking of Maister George Wishart, | 451 |
| Four men hanged for eating ane gous in Lent, | 453 |
| Ane voman drowned becaus shoe would not pray to our ladie and vther sanctis, | ib. |
| Maister George Wishart cited, | 454 |
| Quhat heresie is, | 456 |
| The caus of heresie, | ib. |

| | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|
| Mr George Wishart brunt, 1546, | Page 474 |
| The cardinalis dochter married vpoun the maister of Crawford, | 482 |
| The cardinall sticked att Sanct Andros, | 484 |
| The castell of Sanct Andros seided, | 486 |
| The earle of Rothus cleinged of the cardinalis slaughter, | 487 |
| The castle of Langhope seided and wone, | 488 |
| The castle of Sanct Andros won be the Frenchmen, | 489 |
| Proclamations to all men for defence of the realme, | 491 |
| Message past betwixt the Scottis and Ingliisch armie, | 492 |
| My lord Gray of Ingland chaired the Scottis vangaird, and was repulsit be the earle of Angus, | 497 |
| The feild of Pinkie, vtherways called the Blak Saturday, 1547, | 498 |
| The number of the lordis that war slaine at Pinkie feild, | 501 |
| Hadingtoun tane, | 503 |
| Inchkeith tane, | ib. |
| Burghtie tane, | ib. |
| Burghtie seided, | 505 |
| The young queine past in France, 1548, | 506 |
| The French armie landit at Leith, | 507 |
| The earle of Herefoord cam in Scotland with 40,000 men, | ib. |
| Sewin hundreth Inglismen tane in Fyfe be the inhabitantis thair of, | 509 |
| The proveist of Edinburgh slaine be the Frenchmen, | ib. |
| The Twysdayes chase, quhair the Inglismen wer cleinged out of Scotland, | 510 |
| Contentioun in Ingland for the authoritie, | ib. |
| The lord Sempill slew the lord Sanquhair in the governouris chamber, | 511 |
| Queine mother past in France and obtained the government of Scotland, | 512 |
| Parliament sett at Edinburgh be queine mother, | 513 |
| The queine married vpoun the dolphine of France, | 515 |
| Parliament holdin at Dumblane, | ib. |
| Walter Mylne tane, | 517 |
| Walter Mylne refused to burne his faggatt, | ib. |
| Walter Mylne condemned to be brunt, | 522 |
| Walter Mylne brunt, | 523 |
| Oaul Meffane cam in Scotland and preached, | ib. |
| Puarter roades on the borderes, | 524 |
| Ane singular combatt betwixt the laird of Grange and the lord Iveris brother, | 525 |
| Sir David Lindsayes buik ordained to be brunt, | 526 |
| Ane conventioun of the protestantis at Sanct Johnstoun, | 528 |
| Johne Knox preached opinlie, | 529 |
| The charter-hous of Sanct Johnstoun takin and castin down be the protestantis, | 531 |
| Assurance betwixt the queine and the Congregationis, | 534 |
| My lord Ruthven dischaired of his proveistship be the queine, and promise brokin to the Congregationis, | 535 |
| The Congregationis cam to Couper with thar armie, | 536 |

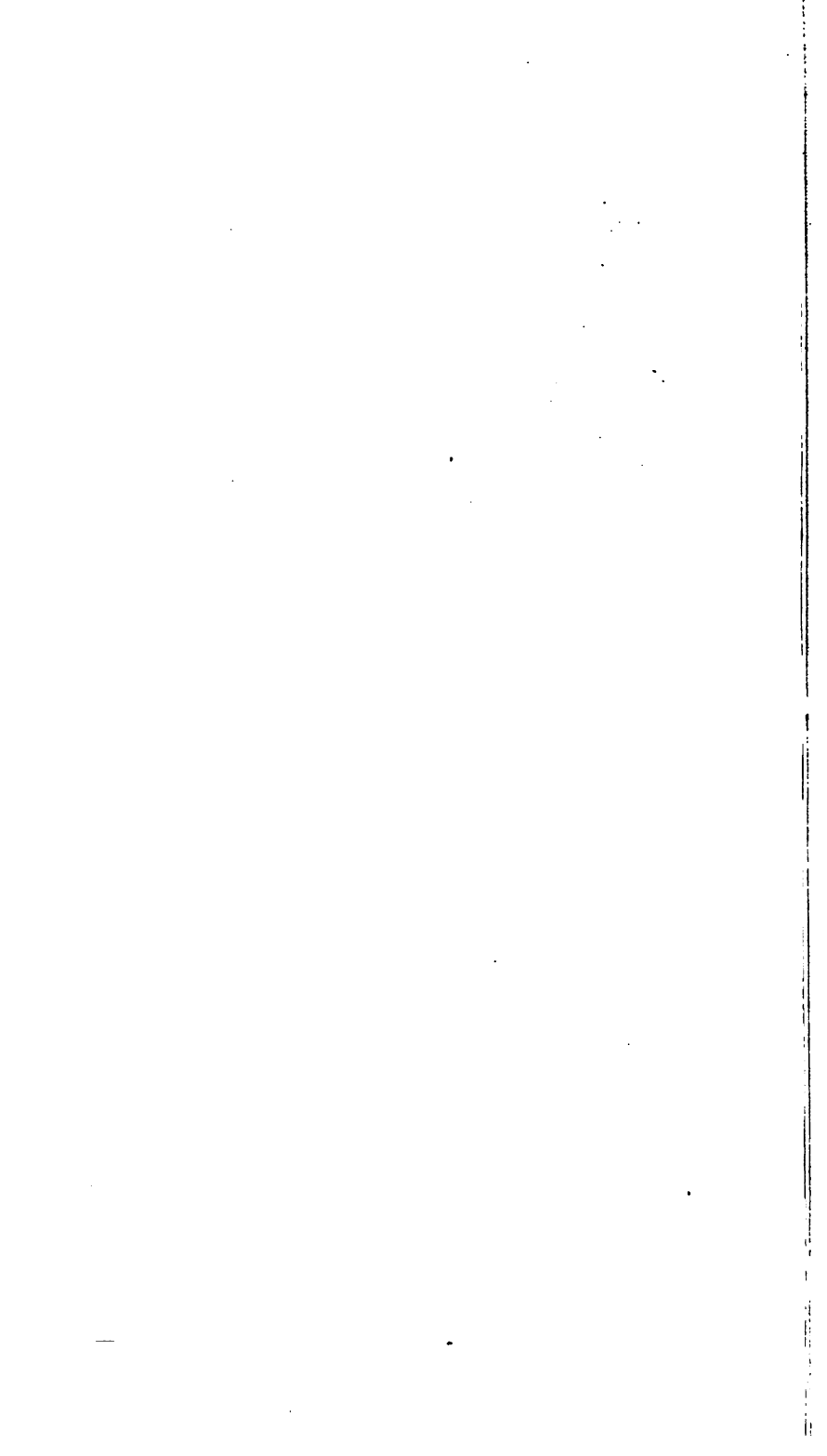
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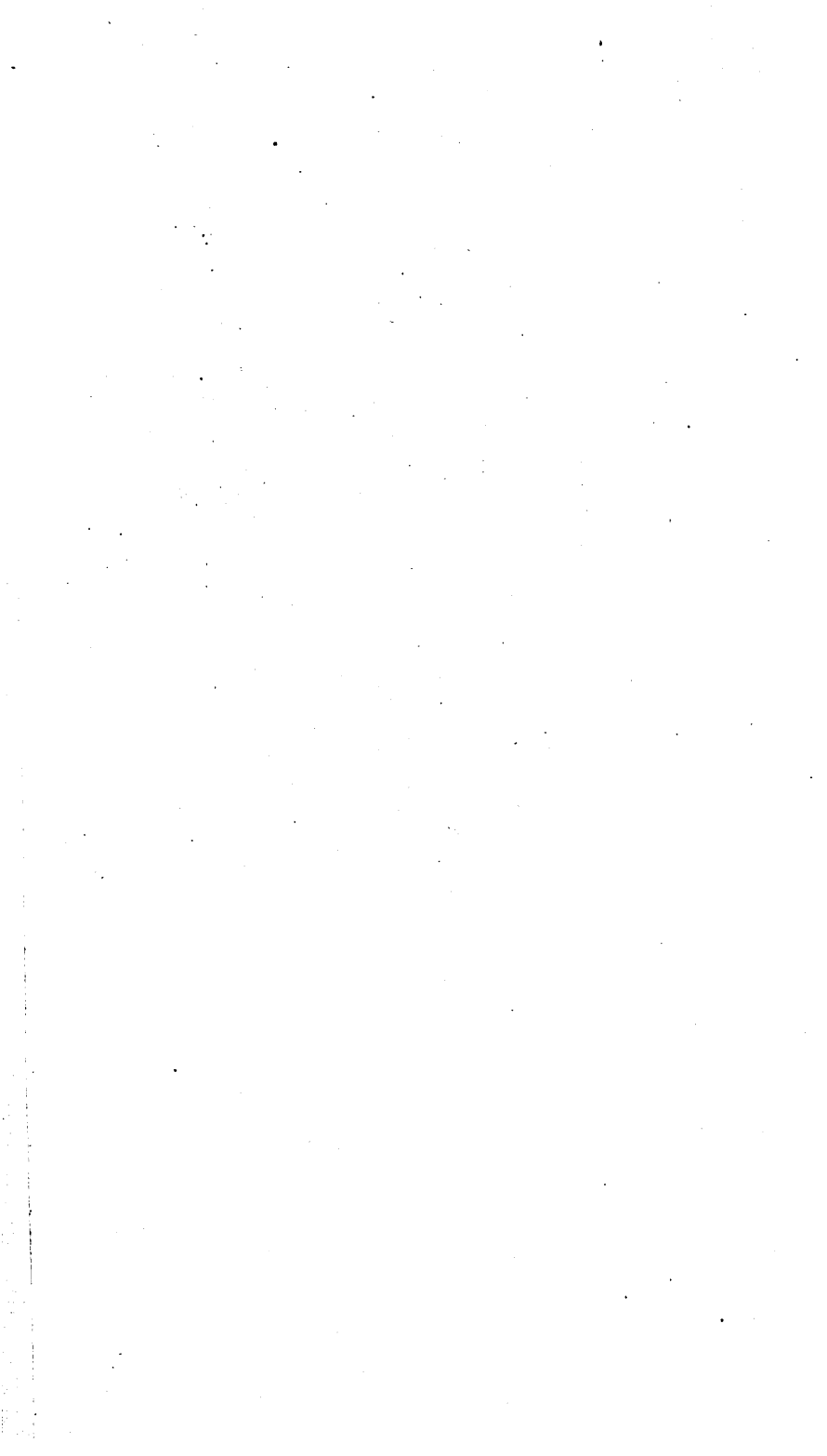
| | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|
| The duik and the Frenchmen cam to Tarbatt mylne with thair armie, | Page 537 |
| The queine sent to treat peace with the Congregation, | ib. |
| The lord Lindsayes oratioun to the duik, | 539 |
| My lord Lindsay diswadit the Frenchmen to mell with the Congregation, | 540 |
| The Congregation seided Sanct Johnstoun and wan the same, and maid my lord Ruthven proveist againe, | 545 |
| The Congregation cam to Edinburgh, and the queine, for fear of thame, fled to Dumbar, | 548 |
| The Congregation reformed several kirkis, | ib. |
| The queine, holdin out of Edinburgh be the Congregation, shoe past to Leith with her men of warre and forthed it, | 547 |
| Warres betuixt Leith and Edinburgh, | ib. |
| The duik left queine regent and adjoyned himself to the Con- gregation, | 548 |
| The Congregation seided Crichtoun and wan it, | ib. |
| The Congregation send to Ingland for support, | 549 |
| Queine regent caused repair all the alteris and images in Edinburgh, and also say messe thairin, | ib. |
| Monseour Labattie, ane French captane, slaine be the Mr. of Lindsay, | 550 |
| The duik of Guise, coming in Scotland with 8 shipes to sup- port the queine, his sister, he was dung back be ane tempest and fyve of his shipsis perished, | 552 |
| French shipsis tane be the Inglismen coming to support the queine, | 553 |
| Certane lordis of the Congregation past to Barvick to bring in ane armie by land, | ib. |
| The lord duik seidgit the castle of Sempill and wan it, | 555 |
| The Frenchmen would not latt the Congregation enter in Stirling, | ib. |
| The Inglismen skirmished the Frenchmen att Rastalrig, and dang thame in to Leith, | 556 |
| Hott skirmishing at Leith, | 557 |
| Queine regent depairted at Edinburgh, 1560, | 558 |
| Hott skirmishing at Leith, | ib. |
| The Frenchmen shipped at Leith and passed home to France, | 559 |
| Queine Marie cam in Scotland 1560, 19 August, | ib. |
| Proclamatioun maid to all bishopsis and prelatis to compeir att Edinburgh, | ib. |
| Abbott of Coldinghame married vpoun the earle Bothwallis sister, | 560 |
| Bryor of Sanct Andros married my lord Merschellis dochter, | ib. |
| Ambasadour cam out of Suedane, | ib. |
| The king of Suethane desired our young queine in marriage, | 561 |
| The duik of Guyse slaine be his awin servandis, | 563 |
| The queine cam to the north, | 564 |

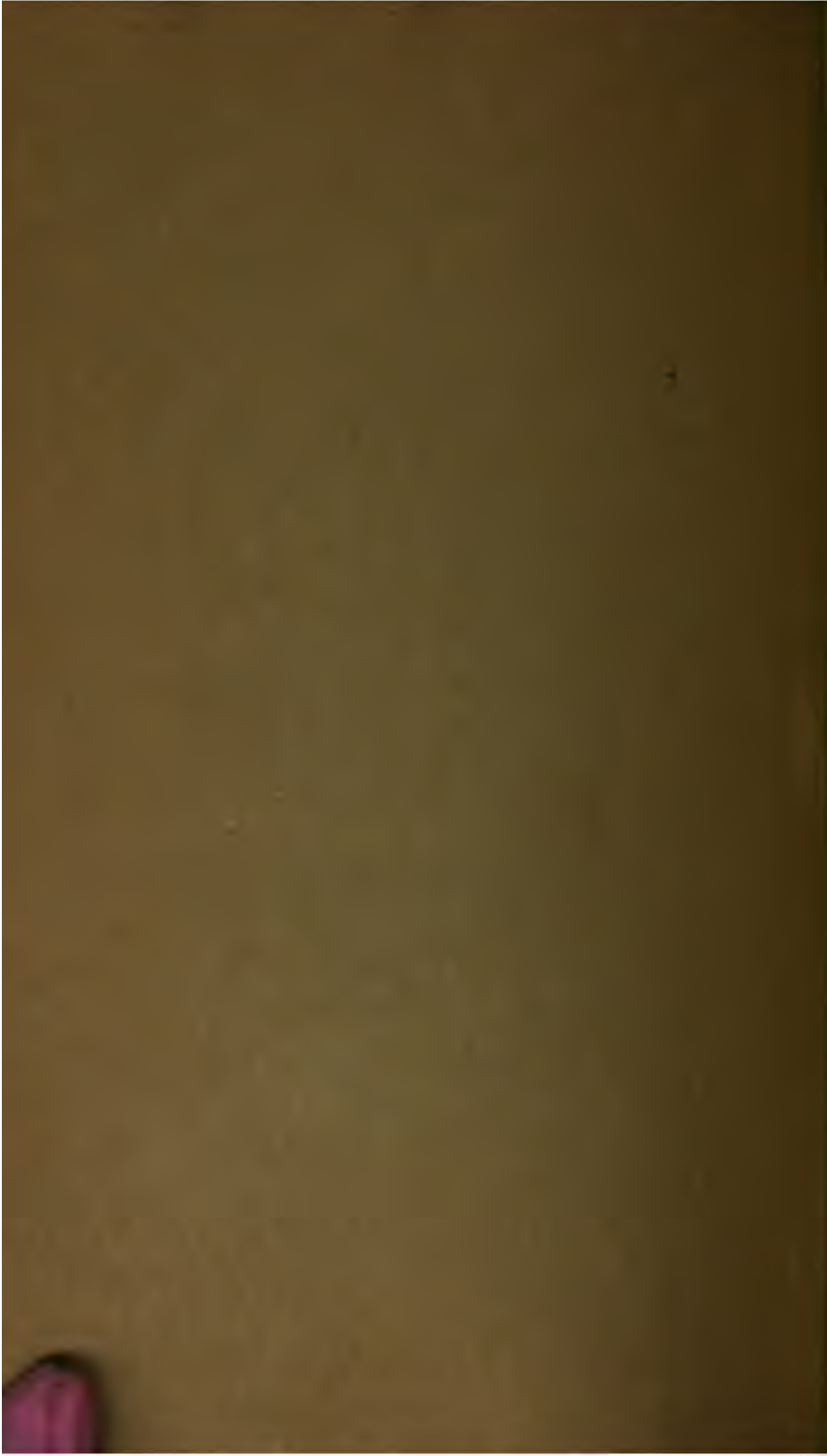
| | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|
| John Gordoun, laird of Findlatour, brak his waired in Aberdeine, | Page 564 |
| The feild of Corechie, quhair the earle of Huntlie was slaine, and his sone tane, 28 October 1563 yeires, | 565 |
| John Gordoun headit at Aberdeine, | ib. |
| Lord Darnely was maid earle of Rose and duik of Rothesay, | 567 |
| The queine married the duik of Rothesay, | ib. |
| The earle of Bothwall cam in Scotland, and was receaved in favouris, and maid generall leiftennent of the borderes, | 569 |
| Certane lordis passed in Ingland for fear of the king, | ib. |
| Proclamatioun of justice aires, | 570 |
| The king maid knyght of the Cockell, | ib. |
| The earle of Bothwall married the earle of Huntlie's sister, | ib. |
| Parliament sett att Edinburgh, | ib. |
| The prince baptized, | 572 |
| Lord Darnely murthered, | ib. |
| King James the 6 crowned att Stirling 1567, | 573 |
| Tullieangus strikin, | 574 |
| Earle Gowrie execute, | ib. |
| Parliament sett for tryall of Marie queine of Scotland, | 575 |
| Proclamatioun maid of the sentence pronounced against Marie, queine of Scotland, | ib. |
| Queine Marie of Scotland beheadit, | 576 |
| The king married, | ib. |
| Glenlivet strikin 1596, | ib. |
| Queine Elizabeth of Ingland deceast, | 578 |
| King James the 6 of Scotland proclaimed king of Ingland in the cittie of London, | 579 |
| Sir Robert Carie rod 300 mylles in lese than thrie dayes, | 580 |
| Prisoneris relieved, | 581 |
| Funerall of Queine Elizabeth, | ib. |
| The kingis journey out of Scotland towardis Ingland, | 582 |
| Ane conduik that ran all day quhyt wyne and claret, | 583 |
| Gudman Chester, | 594 |
| Certane lordis mett the king, | 596 |
| The king maid certane lordis of his honorable counsall, | 597 |
| Maior of London receaved the king towardis London, | 598 |
| His majestie rod to the Tour of London, | 599 |
| Ambassadours from France and vther pairtes, | ib. |
| Knyghtis installed in the ordour of the Garter, | 600 |
| Earles and barrones created at Hampteun court, | ib. |
| Knightis dubbed at Wastminster, | ib. |
| The king and queine crowned at Wastminster, | 601 |
| The fyft of August keiped holy, | ib. |
| Ane rich paill of welvett sent to Pettirborrow to be laid on the tomb of Marrie, queine of Scottis, | ib. |
| Prince Hendrie Fredrick invested in the ordour of the Garter, | 603 |
| The first gate or pagiant, | 603 |
| Recorder his oratioun, | 604 |

| | | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|----------|
| Proclamatioun of peace, | - | - | Page 606 |
| King James the First of Ingland proclaimed king of Great | | | |
| Brittane, | - | - | 607 |
| Duik of York created, | - | - | ib. |
| The earle of Rutland his embassadge into Denmark, | | | 608 |
| The king of Denmark ressaived the ordour of the Garter, | | | |
| within the castle of Elsenore, | - | - | 615 |
| Descriptioun of the castell of Elsenore, | - | - | ib. |
| The presentis which the king of Ingland sent to the king of | | | |
| Denmark, etc. etc. etc. | - | - | 617 |









SEP 28 1953

